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NEW SOURCES
ON THE
SULLIVAN-CLINTON CAMPAIGN IN 1779
IX
THE INDIAN-TORY SIDE OF THE CAMPAIGN

(*Continued from July Issue*)

By June 18, 1779, Butler had definite knowledge of the assembling of troops for the campaign against the Indians as is shown by these letters:

Canadasaga June 18th 1779

Sir/

I am now expecting in ten small Cattle, and shall not be able to get any more: I have sent to every part of the Indian Country & have made use of the few that were to be had by any means at any place. The Party under my command is near three hundred strong exclusive of Indians, and I find myself under the necessity of ordering them to Irondequot to morrow that they may be supplied with Provisions from Niagara, otherwise we cannot subsist, as every Resource in this Country is exhausted & the Indians themselves Starving. I shall myself await your further orders at this Place, and beg that in the mean time you will send a supply of Provisions to Irondequot as soon as possible. I have made every effort to support myself as long as I could without troubling you for Provisions, as I know how precious an article they are, but I can no longer avoid it, & unless you send us some speedily, we cannot support ourselves in the Country, or even get enough to carry us out of it.

David, the little Mohawk Chief, returned the evening of the 16th with a few prisoners which he took at the upper end of the German Flats. one of them informs me that four days before he was taken (which is now seven days ago) there were accounts that the British Troops were advancing up the north River & had got as far as the Highlands, about 50 miles from New York, where the Rebels have several Forts; that two thousand men fron Canada had taken possession of Ticonderoga; that the people in general throughout the Country were very much dispirited & would willingly submit if they had it in their power. David on his way down, & again on his return, passed through one of the Oneyda Villages; they were very friendly to him said they did not mean to quarrel with the Indians, & that it was merely for their own safety that they acted in favor of the Rebels.

It is still reported that the Rebels are assembling in different places in order to attack the Indians. I hourly expect to hear from Aaron and his Party.

The above mentioned Prisoner further informs me that there is but one Regiment in Fort Stanwix and one Hundred men at the German Flats; he likewise says that there was a thousand men draughted from Albany & Tryon Counties, but whether they were to go down the River, or up to Fort Edward, he does not know.

A number of People have escaped to me since my last, among whom are several belonging to the Regiments that were taken with Genl. Burgoyne: inclosed you have their names with the number of the Regiment each belongs to, also the names of the Germans. The two belonging to the 9th, & 24th I have engaged in my corps, as their Regiments are not in Canada, & would be glad to know from you what would be most proper to be done with the others. The men say they have seen a Proclamation from the Commander in Chief which says that every Person that could make his escape from the Rebels should be allowed to engage in any Corps he thought proper, & if they are permitted to enter among the Rangers they will be very serviceable in disciplining the rest of the Corps.

I have procured the Releasement of a Mrs. Campbell, and have sent her with Mr. Seacord to Niagara; she is much in want of Cloathes & other necessaries: if there is not a more convenient Place, I have told her she might stay at my House. I expect in a few days to get Mrs. Moore' Family released likewise. The Indians have given me seven Prisoners which they have brought in at different Times; I shall send them to Niagara by the first opportunity.

The Indians seem in some doubt whether Sir John Johnston is really coming to Oswego as he delays so long; Skiangarachta threatens you hard with a visit in order to know the truth of it and I believe to ask of you a small supply for some of his People who are starving.

A Party of Indians from Canada have taken ten Prisoners & seven scalps at Fort Stanwix.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Lieut. Colonel Bolton]

Canadasagoe July 3rd 1779

Sir, /

It seems now beyond a Doubt that the Rebels are coming up the Susquehanna. A Deserter came in this morning who left Wioming eleven days ago; He says that a General Hand was already there with six hundred men and two small pieces of Cannon, and that the Generals Sullivan & Maxwell were daily expected with nine Regiments and as many pieces of Cannon; he says, it was talk'd of amongst them that another army was to come from the Northward, and a third across from Fort Pitt or Fort George, and that their Designs is to cut off the Indians as they came along,

and then join their Forces to attack Niagara. He says they have already got Six hundred Pack Horses together, and are to have four hundred more, and that they had a great number of Boats laying in the River, and that part of the Troops were encamped about Five miles above Wioming. This Intelligence has stop't Lieut. Thompson—Runners are now going off to the different Villages to collect the Indians: I shall therefore be in absolute want of a further supply both of Provisions and Ammunition, and must beg of you to send off Mr. Seacord with what Horses can be got at Niagara with a Quantity of this latter article as soon as possible; the Provisions you will, I suppose, send to Ironduquot.

A Scout of Indians that were going a few days ago to Wioming, are returned, & say they saw a number of People encamped at a Place about forty miles higher up the River than Wioming.

The Indians upon the Susquehanna are entirely out of amunition, Mr. Thompson has been obliged to give them part of what the Rangers, who are with him, had.

JOHN BUTLER

P.S.—Please to send with the Amunition about two gross of Knives and 50 lbs Paint—

[To Lieut. Colonel Bolton]

Canadasaga July 7th 1779

Sir /

Yesterday evening came in a Cachnawaga Indian who has been long at Oneyda; he pretends to have left the Rebels; says he is sorry he suffered himself to be so long deluded by them, and promises to act a very different part for the future. Along with him came one who was sent from here to the Oneydas; he brings a message from them to the Senecas imparting, that there are about Forty Warriors who now mean to follow their Advice & come off with their Families, & in order to disguise their real design from the Rebels will pretend they are going to the head of Oneyda Lake to fish. These are Tuskaroras: the Onandagoes & some of the Oneydas declare they will do the same as soon as their Chiefs return, who are gone to Albany to try once more to procure the Onandagoes their Liberty who are Prisoners there.—I will not pretend to say whether the Oneydas, and the others who are among them are really in earnest, or only mean to gain time till they see what turn affairs are likely to take before they finally declare themselves. But the Indians seem not to doubt their sincerity in the least.

The Cachnawaga confirms the account that the Rebels are at Crochan's Lake and Building a Fort there, says they have four pieces of Cannon, but does not know their numbers.

I am daily expecting Brant Johnson whom I sent hither with some Cayougas: by him probably I may get some particular

information. This man says it was talked of among the Rebels that the People at Crochans Lake were to march across the Country and join at Tioga (a place upon the Susquehanna, twelve miles below Shimong) another large Body that was to come from Wioming; that they in conjunction were to trample under foot the Six nations and then reduce Niagara.—such is their Talk. The Indians however seem determined to dispute that matter with them a little. He also says that the Rebels have had People out at different times to see if they cannot discover some easy communication by water to Oswegatchie.

The Cachnawagoes who were at Oneyda, to the number of Thirty, are all returned to Canada, except three or four; the one that is here says that he was desired to come this way and request that the General might be informed that they were happy in having an opportunity given them to return, and promise to behave better for the future.—Eleven of the Oneydas are to come with the Rebels upon their expedition—

One Piece of Intelligence I am much distressed at; By what these Indians say, Lieut. Henry Hare & Serjt. Newberry have had the misfortune to fall into the Hands of the Rebels, and were executed along with some other man who was taken with them. They left this the 4th of last month to go to Fort Hunter.—I hope the account may not be true.

I am hourly in expectation of hearing from the Enemy on the Susquehanna.—I have recommended it in the strongest Terms to the Indians in that Quarter to use the utmost diligence & watchfulness, and give me the earliest notice of the Rebels movements. The scarcity of Provisions prevents the Indians from assembling at present, but the moment they hear of the Enemy's advancing, they mean to march all together and attack them in a Body.

JOHN BUTLER

P.S. 8th I received a letter from Mr. Thompson this evening; he writes that by the accounts he has from a Loyalist who is come to him from the Delaware, the Rebels were not yet all assembled at Wioming, but were on their way to it. He means to proceed in a day or two if he hears nothing further from the Enemy.

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

Canadasagoe July 21st 1779

Sir/

A Cachnawagoe Indian who came from Oneyda here some Time ago gives me some Intelligence which I think necessary to lay before Your Excellency. He says that Eight of the Principal Indians of the Cachnawagoe Village are much in the Interest of the Rebels, and that a constant correspondence is carried on between them and Mr. Schuyler by means of a Negroe who is continually going backwards & forwards from thence to Oneyda with

Letters & Intelligence not only from the Indians but also from some French & other White People in the Rebel Interest.

He also mentions that there is a Party of Rebels laying somewhere near the upper end of Lake Champlain on the East side, with a Design to draw off as many Canadians as they can. These may probably be some people sent by Mr. Hayson of the Livingstons who are well acquainted in Canada and left it along with the Rebels, on a scheme to prevail upon some of the Canadians to go off and join them.—This Indian was at first very active in our Service, but through the Persuasion of some of his Relations afterwards took part with the Rebels, he has been long at the Oneyda Village, was much thought of and trusted by them which has given him an opportunity of being pretty well acquainted with what was going forward, and he seems very Intelligible. His name is Twa, re, sa, he mentions one Causo a Frenchman who, he says, lives in a large stone House in the Recollets Street, Montreal, as concerned in carrying this correspondence with the Rebels and the names of two of the Cachnawagoes, Con, na, ha, re, goa, and Quan, te, te. He says that the rest of the Cachnawagoes who were among the Oneydas are returned Home, and as well as himself are sorry that they have suffered themselves to be so long imposed upon, & intend earnestly to advise every one of their People to break off all connections with the Rebels and listen no more to their Falsehoods. He is going to Canada and promises to acquaint Your Excellency with every particular that he knows. He has twice before all the Indians here declared that he was sorry for his past conduct, would for the future most heartily join them, and endeavour to open the eyes of the Seven Nations of Canada to the Insidious Designs of the Rebels, and I have Reason to believe him sincere. I shall write by him that Your Excellency may know when he arrives.

Your Excellency has been made acquainted with the occasion of our coming into the Indian Country, and every thing material that has happened since. As there were constant reports that the enemy were preparing to come against the Indians both by the way of Lake Otsego & the Susquehanna, I remained here at the Desire of the Indians, as it is the readiest Place to march from against the Enemy should they appear from either of these Places. Want of Provisions has at length obliged me to send off Captn Butler with the Rangers the 19th inst, to encamp near the Falls upon Genesee River, five or six miles from Irondequot; it was impossible to keep them here any longer. The little Provision that was to be procured by any means in any part of the Indian Country is all expended as well as a supply received from Niagara, tho' the greatest economy has been used to make it go as far as possible and the men allowed only as much as was barely sufficient to keep them alive, which has brought actual sickness upon some, & endangered the Health of the whole.

Although there was last Fall a considerable quantity of Cattle in the Indian Country these have been chiefly consumed by the Indians themselves. It is well known that they never raise more Corn, Pulse & things of that kind which compose the principal part of their food than will just suffice for their own subsistence; but they were so employed on various excursions that last summer that they did not cultivate the usual quality, and great part of what they did cultivate was destroyed by some means or other before it came to Perfection, & the number of People who passed through their Country from the Frontiers still contributed to lessen what was left.

Many Families in this Village and the Villages below it as Sheckquago, Shimong, Cayouga &c., have not had an ear of corn the whole winter & were obliged to live such as had them upon Cattle, such as had no Cattle upon Roots. This by the time we came into the Country made Beef exceeding scarce and dear; what there was we have made use of, & so entirely has the Country been drained that at Shimong where Cattle were by far the most plenty there is not a Creature to be got, and Lieut. Thompson who was sent [h]ither at the Express Desire of the Indians with about 40 men, writes that he will be under the necessity of returning immediately as he must starve if he stays. To add to all this there is not the same opportunities of driving off Cattle from the Enemy's Frontiers there was the preceeding Summer. Many of their Settlements were then broken up and such as remain are secured by a Chain of Forts which the Enemy maintain at small distances all along their Frontiers; & had I a Prospect of being able to take any of these I could not march against them with a sufficient Body for the want of Provisions.

For these Reasons I have sent off the Rangers from this Place and have made Choice of the Genesee Falls for them to remain at, as besides it's being a very convenient place for Boats, it abounds in Fish which will save Salt Provision[s] and make a much less Quantity serve there than in any other Place, neither will they have so many Indians about them there to eat up their Provision[s], & it is impossible to avoid giving it to them when they are with you. Be we where we will we must depend upon Provisions being sent us from Niagara, and the Importance of that article would of itself almost make that the most eligible place at which the smallest Quantity will be necessary: but the Place I have ordered the Rangers to is in other respects so situated, that their laying there, besides saving Provisions & the great expense of transporting them to this Place, will answer every purpose of our being here. It would seem as if the Enemy were principally intent upon establishing & maintaining a chain of Forts for the Protection of their own Country, but should they march against the Indians, the Rangers can come from the Genesee Falls to this Place in two Days with the greatest ease, a much shorter time than any Body

of Indians sufficient to oppose the Enemy could possibly assemble in. And to prevent being imposed upon by idle Runners & false alarms that might otherwise be the means of harrassing the men unnecessarily, I shall station two officers one at Shimong the other at Cayouga, the only ways by which the Enemy can approach, and give them Instructions that upon any Report of the Enemy's coming they themselves shall go with a small scout to where they were said to be; if they find it true to acquaint me of it immediately, if false to endeavour to set before the Indians the Folly of being alarmed at every Trifling thing they hear. Not that I mean they should be secure & inattentive to the Enemy's motions; on the contrary it is my intention to have scouts both of Rangers & Indians constantly out in every Quarter, but only not to be alarmed when there is no enemy near them nor any signs of one.

Should we be wanted at Oswego, it will be the most convenient place for us to move from, to it; should our Services be required towards Detroit, Fort Pitt, or Vaningo there is no place we can be so centrical for either of those Places.

In justice to myself I am obliged to be thus particular in pointing out the Reasonableness & Propriety of taking this step; & in justice to the People under my command I could no longer delay it, as here they were suffering everything that Hunger & Disease could inflict, and had they remained in this situation much longer would have been intirely unfit for service. I shall stay here myself, as my presence will be necessary with the Indians in case anything should happen.

The Indians in general continue to be very well disposed, and a number of the Oneydas sent word to the Senecas some time ago that they would come away with their Families and live among them & act in conjunction with them for the future.

This was in consequence of Your Excellency's speech to them, but they seem not to be in earnest & only mean to gain time till they see what Turn Things are likely to take, before they finally declare themselves. Your Excellency may depend upon my taking every opportunity to improve and confirm the good Dispositions of the Indians.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect,

JOHN BUTLER

[To Gen. Haldimand]

Canadasago July 23rd 1779

Sir /

John Rimp a trusty and Intelligent Indian whom I sent out some time ago, is returned this afternoon; he brings some Rebel newspapers which I enclose you: You will find by them that Genl. Clinton is certainly advancing up the North River—He says, that he himself, from the top of the Blue Mountains which lye near

the River, heard the Fireing and saw the smoke as of two Armies engaged at Fish-Kill eighteen Days ago, & was afterwards told that General Washington had been Defeated and was pursued Twenty miles; Fish-Kill is at the upper end of the Highlands towards Albany; He also says that on his Return he met, a little beyond Schohary fourteen days ago, a man who had come from the Rebel army, and was told him that two days before that, the time the man came away, Part of the British Forces were taking up the Chain that the Rebels had fixed across the River at the Highlands. Had we but Provisions we might probably at this Juncture be of most essential service. Brant Johnson is just come and has brought a Prisoner from the German Flats whom he took Six Days ago. This man says, that there were Two Thousand men at Lake Otsego, and that near two Hundred Batteaux had been carried over to the Lake, and a great Quantity of Provision and that they were to march from thence to join another Body that was to come up the Susquehanna—Rimp mentions almost the same thing.

The many concurring Reports that we have had of this matter make it evident that such was originally their Intention—But Johnson says, that on coming thro the Oneydas Village he was informed that eight of the Oneydas who were to have gone on the expedition were returned, as it was found impossible to go down the Creek with Boats, and that the Rebels were besides short of Provisions.

The Prisoner informs that there are between five and six hundred men in Fort Stanwix, and that the small Forts at ye German Flats were garrisoned by the Militia, and that the Families chiefly live within these Forts. He confirms the account of the unfortunate fate of Mr. Hare and Serjt Newberry, and says they were hanged after being kept Prisoners a few Days. I sent this Rimp along with Mr. Ferris to the Frontiers some time ago to fetch off some People that were desirous of coming. He has seen & spoken to Capt. Ten-Brock of my Corps who is kept Prisoner near Esopus and allowed to live with his Brother who is bound for him under the severest penalties, that he shall not attempt to make his escape: from him he also heard that Genl Clinton had taken the Forts in the Highlands. I expect Mr. Ferris himself in a little time with further Intelligence, & some men.

I have been under the necessity of giving several orders for Flour: some to Squaws whose Husbands being out at War had no means of providing themselves, and some to Indians whose Families were really starving.

I forgot to mention that Rimp further informs me that he was told by a person living at the Blue Mountains, that a Body of the Rebels under the command of General Gates was defeated some time ago by a Detachment of the British Troops about 60 miles to the Eastward of New York, having been drawn into an ambus-

(*Courtesy George Beck, Sculptor*)

BURNING OF MINISINK AND FLIGHT WITH CAPTIVES AND PLUNDER, JULY 1779

(*Courtesy George Beck, Sculptor*)

BATTLE OF MINISINK, IN TOWN OF HIGHLAND, SULLIVAN COUNTY, JULY 22, 1779

cade by a Retreat. This man had been forced into the Service, was present at the engagement & made his escape.

Yesterday Mr. Clement with a few of the Chief Warriors set out in order to way-lay the Road from Fort Stanwix to Crochan's Lake, and bring off a Prisoner; and the Day before a small Party pass'd thro' the Village who mean to strike near the same place. I intend to send Lieut. Lottridge in two or three days with a large Party to Canajohary, to cut off some of the Oneydas who live there.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

General Frederick Haldimand's efforts to stiffen the defense against the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign is shown in the following letter:

Quebec 23rd July 1779

Sir

I have received your letters of the 27th June and 1st instant, with the several inclosures from Major Butler and Captain Lernoult—your Bill for £3219..4..4 shall be answered.

The General distress for provisions in the Upper Country, is a subject of infinite concern to me, as well upon account of the Local Evil, as the disappointment it is to my other views, particularly that of taking post at Oswego this summer, which, with all the efforts I can make and every diligence that can be used, will, I can foresee, be totally impossible to effect.—I have taken all imaginable pains to forward the transport of provisions, and shall continue to do so while the season will permit, for this purpose I have omitted sending many stores much wanted at the different Posts, the late arrival of the has victualeirs occasioned this distress. Easterdly winds are at an end, and I am obliged to order down Batteaux from Sorel to carry provisions from the different Crafts between this place and Montreal, as they cannot make their way up the River—but with all in my power to do, if a sufficient quantity of provision for the subsistance of the Troops already at the posts, including the heavy demands for Indians, can be conveyed to them, it is, as much as can be expected—thus situated, to send Troops to Oswego to starve, or to be under the necessity of abandoning it, for want of provisions would certainly have a much worse effect, both in the eyes of the Rebels and Indians, than my not undertaking it at all.— A Deputy of Indians from the Six Nations are now here, I purpose detaining them until the Fleet arrives, the appearance of which, and the arguments I shall make use of will, I have no doubt, satisfy them that their Nations will remain for this year in perfect security without having a Garrison at Oswego.—The quantity of provisions that will arrive this year in the province, will effectually prevent my being re-

tarded next spring in any operations I may think necessary to undertake, and the transport to the Upper Country will be greatly facilitated by a scheme I have in view, which is to build store houses at the Cedars, and in the course of the Winter, to have provisions slaid to that place, where it will be ready for Batteaux, the moment the River is navigable. I observe with great concern the difficulties Major Butler finds in subsisting his Rangers and Indians—You will represent to him the pains that have been taken here to forward provisions, and the utter impossibility of being more successfull, the Indians should understand, that all our distress on that account, proceed from the amazing quantity of provision they consume—You will likewise represent to Major Butler the necessity there is for his falling upon means to procure subsistance in the Country, either at Schohary, or upon the Mohawk River—You will continue to furnish him with such supplies as he may stand in absolute need of, and I recommend it to you to learn well the state of your stores, and if you should find it necessary to reduce the allowance, time enough to prevent evil consequences, for I have no idea that you can suffer from any attempt of the Enemy.

Major Butlers penetrating into the Country will answer another good end, that of alarming and driving in the settlers, and favoring any operations that may be carrying on upon the North river—It is impossible the Rebels can be in such force, as has been represented by the Deserters to Major Butler, upon the Susquehanah—He would do well to send out intelligent White men to be satisfied of the truth of those reports if any thing is really intended against the upper Country, I am convinced that Detroit is the object, and that they show themselves, and spread reports of expeditions in your neighborhood merely to divert the Rangers and Indians from their main purpose,—Major Butler should be aware of this, but at the same time be cautious of leaving the Indians Country exposed.—If you should think it necessary still to reinforce Detroit, do it, in time to the utmost of your ability.—You can occasionally reinforce yourself from Carleton Island, should there be a necessity for it. Those English and German soldiers that are come in to Major Butler may, for the present, continue with him, but are by no means to be considered in his Corps—it would be a very bad precedent, and might even encourage desertion from other Corps on account of the high pay—If those men can be of service to him it is well, but in regard to high discipline, nothing of the kind is expected, the business of a Ranger being to march well, to be able to endure fatigue, and to be a good marksman, any time they may have to spare, ought to be employed in these exercises, the little minutia and forms of parade are totally out of their province, nor can their situation admit a possibility of their acquiring them. * * * * * *

HALDIMAND

P.S.—From a want of artillery men I have been under a necessity of sending up some German artillery—You will provide them with pay to the amount of the enclosed memorandum & no more—and should they want Clothing; supply them from those I sent to you for Joseph—and render their situation, while separated from their corps, as satisfactory as possible.—

H.

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

Instructive reports from Capt. John McDonell:

Camp 20 miles from
Fort Wallace

July 24th 1779

Sir, /

I was met here by Samuel Harriss' Party of Twenty Warriors, they went off from Shimong two days before my arrival & have taken two Prisoners & three Scalps a little below Fort Wallace—That the Enemy mean to attack the Indian Country from Wioming, remains no longer in Doubt. All the Accounts I have been able to gather relative to their strength, from Prisoners taken at different places & periods seems to corroborate; I have reason to apprehend from the information I have just received that they are about this time in motion.—The Prisoners say that Genls. Sullivan & Maxwell were arrived with the last Division of the Troops, a long Train of Artillery, and a Brigade of Provision Boats, this Division said to contain 5,000 men composed of Continental or standing Forces—Genl Hand had 2,000 prior to the arrival of this reinforcement, they have 1,000 pack-horses & 170 Boats. The whole is said to consist of 8,000 men, tho' I cannot allow them above the half nor do I believe they have that. I sent off a Scout from Shishiguin to Wyoming to watch the motions of the Rebels till our Return; should they discover them on their route, a Runner is to strike across the woods to me, the rest to return and spread the alarm; in which case I shall, after doing them all the injury I can in this Quarter, send off a sufficient guard with what Cattle I'll be able to collect around the mountains, to the Nanticok Town, & hang upon the Rear of the Enemy, & harrass them as much as possible on their march, with a few of the most active of the Rangers & about 100 of the Indians; You may depend upon it, I shall be very cautious to do anything that may have a tendency to dishearten the Indians—I know now too well their capricious humours—

I shall collect all the Cattle of every kind I can, as I am sensible their Provision will be an object of the utmost consequence, when all the Indians are embodied—

John McDonell

[To Col. John Butler]

Tioga Point Aug 5th 1779

Sir, /

I have the pleasure to inform you of the success of the Indians and the Detachment I had the honor to Command against the West Branch.

After a very tedious, fatiguing march over mountains & through woods almost impenetrable; we came in upon the Settlements the 27th in the evening, continued our march all night, & invested a small Place called Fort Freeland, early in the morning, the then Frontier Post occupied upon the River. At Ten o'Clock the Fort surrendered by Capitulation, a copy of the Terms I have sent herewith.

The Garrison consisted of one Serjeant & 12 Privates of the Continental Troops, and 20 of the Militia Commanded by one of the Commissioners of the County: they had two men killed before the place surrendered. John Montour received a wound in the small of the back scalping a man under the Pickets of the Fort: but is in a fair way to do well.

About two Hours after we got possession of the Place; we were attacked by a Party of Rebels, that came up to reinforce the Fort of 70 or 80 men having heard our Fire. We had no intimation of their approach 'till they were close upon us; The Scouts of Indians that were sent out having fell in with some Horses, which they pursued, neglecting the charge they were trusted with—The Indians upon the first appearance of the Rebels retired a little but soon recovered their surprize and came in upon their left Flank with great Fury while the Detachment of the 8th Regt. & Rangers attacked them in front, and put them immediately to the Route, with the loss of three Captains (two of which belonged to the Continental Troops) & between thirty & forty men killed—

Few of them would have escaped had they not been favored by a very close copse where they concealed themselves. We had only one Indian Killed & one wounded upon this occasion.

I did every thing in my power to prevail upon the Indians to pursue their success, but they were to glutted with Plunder, Prisoners, & Scalps, that my utmost efforts could not persuade them from Retreating to Fort Wallace that night. Next day I returned with about 100 Indians & Rangers: we burned & destroyed five Forts & about 30 miles of a close settled Country.

They had abandoned their Forts the Evening before and fled with great Precipitation leaving behind a great quantity of goods & most of their Cattle. We were within 8 miles of Shimoken; I am confident that there is not a Rebel upon this side of it—

The Prisoners corroborate the accounts I gave you in my letter of the 21st ultº. & have no further news. The Commissioner who is a very intelligent man, asserts for certain, that the Armies from Wioming & Cherry Valley are destined for Niagara; they were to set off for Wioming the 26 ult. A Genl. Clinton commands the Army at Cherry Valley.

Out of 116 Cattle we drove past Wallace's Fort we have only 62 remaining; some we lost, but the greatest part were stole from us by the Indians. The Tuscaroras have a separate Drove containing I believe 40 or 50.

JOHN MCDONELL

[To Col. John Butler]

Canattsagoe Augt 4th 1779

Colonel Butler was told a day or two ago, that the Oneydas & Canadian Indians had agreed, that if any of the former came to take Prisoners from the Rebels the Oneydoes were to conceal them, and were any of them to go to Canada on a like Errand they others were to do the same by them. he has wrote to Coln. Campble about the matter, and thinks it not unlikely but the Five Nations may also fall into the same agreement and would therefore have you to be much upon your guard, it appears that the above is a fact, as the Caghnawago Indians who lately took the Prisoners at Fort Stanwix were not only with some Oneydoes, a little time before but were even directed by them where to make their Blow. *The above from Mr. Cartwright, Colonel Butler's Secretary—

WALTER BUTLER

Butler's Report on the Battle of Minisink:

Canattsagoe August 4th 1779

Dear Walter,

A couple of Indians came in this evening from Joseph, he has been down to Mynisink and I believe has met with a Disappointment, he found the Inhabitants mostly secured in Forts after taking some scalps he was attacked on his Return, he has lost three of his men Killed, & ten wounded and his Party have thirty six scalps and Prisoners, only five of the latter! No Cattle the Indians say they took a Loyalist a very respective man, who informed them that Genl Clinton had certainly taken the Forts in the Highlands and was following Washington up toward Albany, and says he mentioned that they delayed their opperations from Wioming on that account, lest their Assistance should be wanted in the North River,—An officer they have Prisoner says the same thing—Joseph is gone on a Scout towards Unondella.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Captain Walter Butler]

Walter Butler is regarded by Americans as one of the most brutal of the Loyalist military leaders. The letter of Aug. 8th from him accuses the "Rebels" of "barbarism" and states that at Wyoming and Cherry Valley efforts were made to protect prisoners:

Genesia River
8th August 1779

Captain Butler requests Captain Brehm will lay before His Excellency General Haldimand I beg to Lay before Ye Excy the Fate of every officer and soldier serving on the Frontiers in those parts are to expect in case they should be so unfortunate as to fall into the enemies hands which will fully appear by the fate of Mr. Lt. Henry Hare, an officer in the Indian Departmt and Sergeant Newberry of my the Rangers met with, taken on a Scout to Otsago Lake. They were no sooner taken but were immediately executed—likewise a Gentleman sent by Sir Henry Clinton to Colonel Butler with Dispatches was taken on his return from Colonel Butler and immediately executed—

The conduct of every officer both of the Rangers & Indian Dept., in exerting themselves on every occasion; to preserve the lives of Prisoners taken and also to treat them well; Particularly at Wyoming & Cherry Valley last Campaign, and this by Captain McDonell; should set the Rebels an example if they were men possessed of Humanity or common Justice, to do the like—as those Instances have had the contrary effect; some method should be taken to restrain the Rebels from such acts of Barbarism, or they will be under the necessity to do themselves justice—Mr. Hare has left a helpless wife and a number of small children, he had a Brother killed in His Majesty's service, a Captain in the Indian Dept. at Fort Stanwix in /77, who likewise left a wife and five small children —he has a Brother living, a Captain in the Corps of Rangers and a nephew, a Lieut. in said Corps, both men of merit. the Sergeant left a wife & Children—

Captain Brehm will likewise mention to the General, that had the Rangers and Indians which would be embodied sufficient Provisions to take them to the Frontiers they would be able to render Sir Harry Clinton most important Service in his expedition up the North River—

Walter Butler

Canadasagoe August 11th 1779

Captain McDonell is here, and the Party will be in to Day. By the accounts he has from the Prisoners, the Rebels were to leave Wioming the 26th ulto. they mean to build small Forts at every 20 or 30 miles as they come along, and Establish a very strong Post at Tioga. They have two Companies of Artillery men and 20 pieces of Cannon, and by the Commissary's return which one of the Prisoners had seen, there were upwards of seven thousand Rations issued at a tine at Wioming.

I think it beyond doubt that they are very strong and seriously bent upon this expedition.

I shall send forward the Prisoners as soon as they arrive.

I think, if it should be necessary for you to march, it would be best to send off all the Sick, along with the Prisoners, to Niagara, as we shall not be able to spare men to keep Post at the River.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Captain Butler]

August 12th 1779

A Runner is just arrived—The Rebels are certainly at Tioga, and have begun their Fort there. I must therefore desire that you will march immediately upon the Receipt of this with every man you have fit for Duty, and use all Convenient Speed till you reach this Place, bring with you all the Provisions you possibly can. if it cannot all be brought, leave some of the People who are least able to march, to take charge of it.

I must desire of you to write to the Colonel, and Request of him to send four or five Boats to Genesee River for our use, and some Provisions.

I expect the Indians will be all assembled here in three Days time, and would be glad if you could have the Rangers here about the same time.

Let the men bring up what Provisions they can upon their Back.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Captain Walter Butler]

Samples of letters showing how Lieut. Col. Bolton at Niagara and Gen. Haldimand at Quebec kept track of the progress of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign:

Niagara, August 16th 1779

Sir /

I enclose You copies of Letters received from Major Butler,[1] which will inform Your Excellency of the Enemy's arrival at Tioga, and the disagreeable situation the Six Nations are in— That the Rebels are determined to oblige them to observe a Neutrality, I have scarce a doubt of, and they appear to me in general extremely dissatisfied that the Troops Your Excellency promised them have not taken Post at Oswego, several Chiefs came in lately, and in Council desired to know the Reason why the Great King their Father did not assist them in the Time of their distress, after the many Promises made by the General and the Commanding officer here. That they could not resist the Force the Rebels were now bringing against them, and were even at a loss which way to go, as the Enemy were advancing from all Quarters. They desired I would send a part of the Garrison to

[1]John Butler is referred to both as major and as colonel in these letters.

their Relief otherwise their Villages would be cut off, and they could no longer fight the King's Battles, they even in council said I had not kept my word, and that I talked of nothing but Provisions, while they were well convinced, there was a great Quantity at Quebec, therefore, I could have no excuse for not assisting them. I informed them of all Major Butler had wrote, and notwithstanding I attended their Councils three days, and gave them everything they wanted in Clothing, Provisions &c., I could only prevail on 44 to set off, out of 200 Warriors. Kayashuta desired 100 Soldiers might be sent with him to attack 600 Rebels and 100 Delawares who have taken Post in his Neighborhood, 15 miles this side of Venango. In short, to answer all their Demands, I must have given them every Soldier of this Garrison. Their Behaviour all together was very different from what I had ever seen before, and if Major Butler should be defeated, I am convinced they would follow the example of their Brethren at Detroit—Your Excellency will see the necessity of either taking Post at Oswego, or of sending Reinforcements to the Upper Posts as soon as possible, for if a neutrality should take place, I need not inform you what will be the consequence—500 men sent up in time will, in all Probability secure the Six Nations in our Interest, and save Detroit. You will pardon me, Sir, for encroaching on your Time so long on this Subject, but I think it a very necessary part of my Duty to give you every Information concerning these Posts when it appears to me they are in danger.

I have wrote to Major Nairne (Commanding at Carleton Island) to inform me what number of men he can spare in case I should be obliged to call upon Him—by the last Return, He had only 155 fit for duty—every man here is employed on the works which I am anxious to compleat as soon as possible, this prevents me from giving any assistance at this time to the Indians, the Garrison being reduced to an Handfull by the detachments I have sent to Detroit.

Mason Bolton

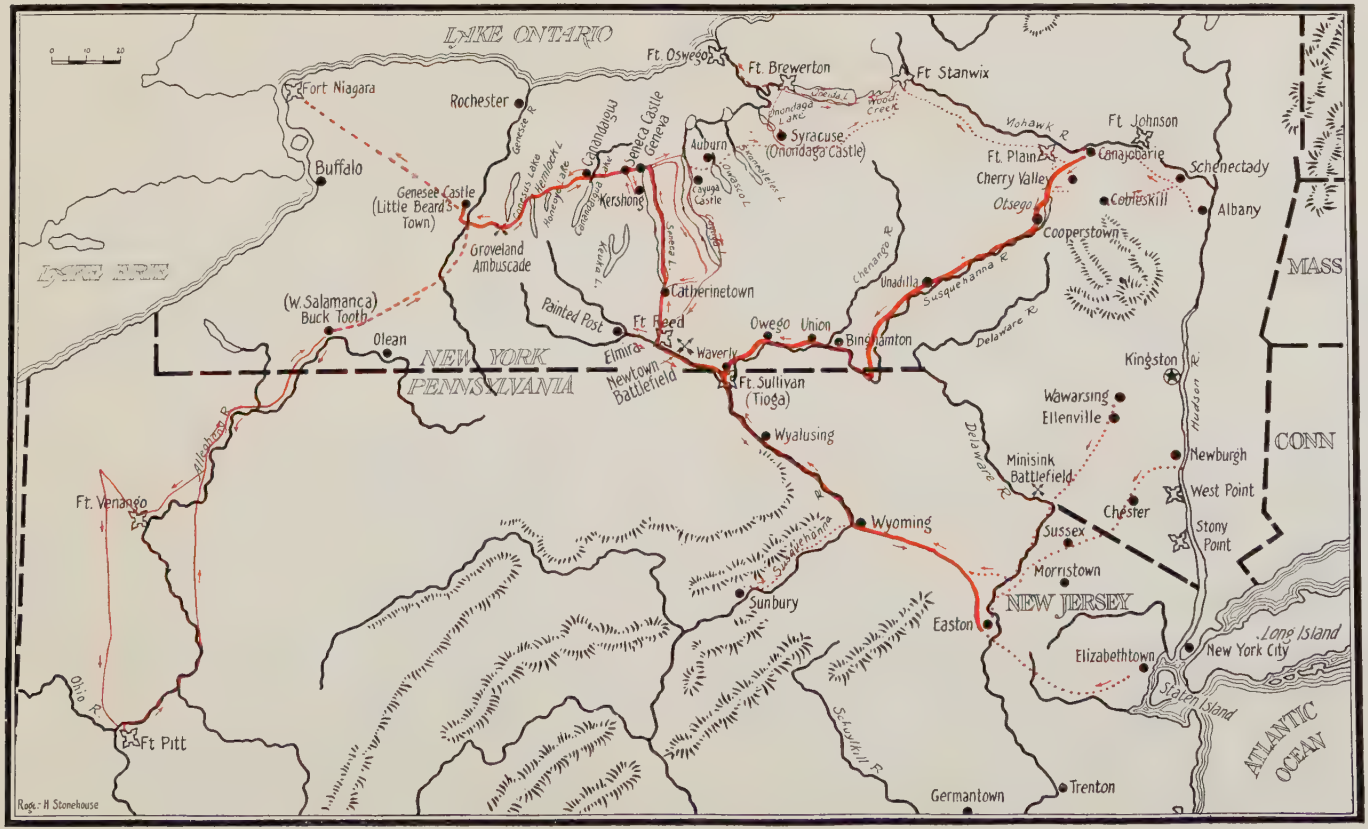
[To General Haldimand]

Chucknut Augt 26th 1779

Sir /

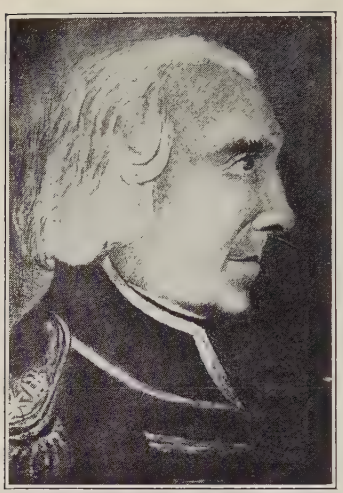
I was favoured with yours of the 15th inst. yesterday and have also received the amunition you sent by the Horses—

We are now encamped within 14 miles of the Enemy, who from the best Intelligence, I have been able to get, are at least 3000 in numbers. Soon after they came to Tioga, a large party of them marched up to Shimong, a village three miles below this, which, they burn't and destroyed the Corn, & were advancing further when they were attacked by Captain Rowland Montour with about 20 Delawares—who after a few Fired were obliged to retire with the loss of one man Killed; they say they killed several of



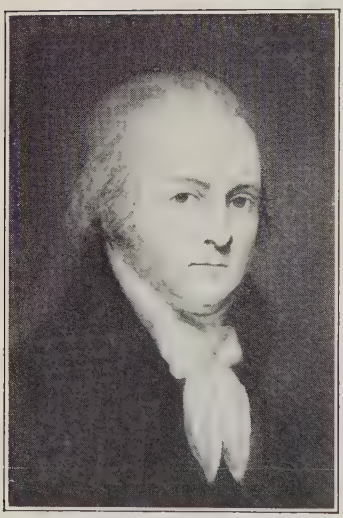
(Courtesy New York State Education Department)

ROUTES OF THE ARMIES OF SULLIVAN, CLINTON AND BRODHEAD



COL. JOHN BUTLER

JOSEPH BRANT



SIR JOHN JOHNSON

RED JACKET

(These four illustrations through courtesy New York State Education Department)

the Enemy as they were very near & saw them fall. They were determined to have attacked them again had they advanced any further, but after remaining for a little time near to where they had the Skirmish, the Rebels returned to Tioga. They have since divided, & about one half of them are gone to Owego either to Fortify there, as those are doing who are at Tioga, or to facilitate the Junction with the Army from Lake Otsego, or perhaps both.

The Indians have driven off several of their Horses and taken two or three Scalps, but I have not yet been able to get a Prisoner, tho' there are Scouts constantly at their Camp. You certainly must be misinformed in regard to these People, for from the accounts of every Prisoner that has been taken, they are some of the best of the Continental Troops commanded by the most active of the Rebel Generals, and not a Regiment of Militia among the whole.

The Chiefs desire you would send of your men to their assistance, as the Enemy are numerous, and as it is likely that Sir John is at Oswego, they request that you would write to him to come with a quantity of Provisions to the Head of the Cayouga Lake, as they mean, there to make their last effort should they be obliged to retreat.

As to the two Grasshoppers, besides the great difficulty there would be to carry them along with suitable amunition, I believe they would be of no material service in the Woods—none of the Indians from Niagara are yet arrived—

A Scout is just come in with Intelligence that the Rebel camp is much larger than usual so that they must either be reinforced, or the Party must be returned again from Owego.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Lt. Col. Bolton]

Quebec

27th August 1779

Sir

Mr. [Guy] Johnson Colonel of the Six Nation Indians, and Superintendent of Indian affairs, having, upon his arrival at this Place, desired leave to repair immediately to the Indian Country for the Purpose of executing the duties of his office—I have consented to it, and have wrote to him a Letter of Instructions, a Copy of which I send to you—You will observe by it, that he is entirely confined to the direction of his own department every thing relative to the military Line, resting in the commanding officer of the Garrison. I am apprehensive that some little misunderstanding may arise between Colonel Johnson and Major Butler relative to the Rangers I must depend upon your Prudence, and zeal for the service, to prevent, or accommodate anything of the kind that may happen by interposeing with orders, or advice

as you may see occasion—in order to prevent anything happening from Colonel Johnson conceiving that he had a Power to Command the Rangers, I have particularly specified in my Instructions to him that they are immediately under the Command of Major Butler, subject to your orders, to whom application must be made for any Detachment that may be necessary while they remain at Niagara. At the same time, you will point out to Major Butler the necessity for supporting Colonel Johnson's consequence with the Indians, and recommend to him to effect it by any little acquiescense, which his desire to promote the Public Service will naturally point out to him, and if, during the great resort of Indians at Niagara, he may require, a Centry, or any little compliment, if you think it may effect the above Purpose, I should wish he were gratified—

HALDIMAND

[To Lt. Col. Bolton]

The following letter from Colonel John Butler gives the official report of the Battle of Newtown from the British side. It proves conclusively that none of the Johnsons were in the engagement. It shows that a detachment of the 8th British Regiment was present. The white leaders were John and Walter Butler and McDonnell; the Indian leaders, Joseph Brant and Kiangarachta. Colonel Butler recognized the "scrious nature" of the defeat unless a "large Reinforcement" was hurried into the country at once.

Shechquago August 31st 1779

Sir /

My last informed you that we were encamped within 14 miles of the enemy. On the 27th Inst. one of our Scouts came in and informed us that they were upon their March towards us in great Force, the Detachment that had gone to Owego having joined the Main Body at Tioga. Finding that with our numbers, which did not exceed 600 men, we could not engage the Enemy with a probability of success, & aware of the bad consequences of a Defeat, I endeavoured to persuade the Indians to retreat to a more advantageous situation. and at the same time have strong Parties out along the Heights to harrass the Enemy upon their March & keep them in perpetual alarms. In this I was strongly seconded by Joseph Brant who saw the propriety of it, and laboured to make the Indians also sensible of it, but to no purpose; for the Delawares had pointed out a Place where they said the Enemy ought to be opposed, & the Senecas & others in consequence of this, were obstinately determined to meet them in a Body, & I of course was obliged to comply. I therefore sent off what Little Baggage we had, under the care of a few sick men, and

marched down with the Rangers and Indians to take possession of the ground they had chosen which lay about a mile from our encampment. It was a Ridge of about half a mile in length, to the right of which lay a large Plain extending to the River & terminating in a narrow pass near our Encampment, so that having possession of the Heights we would have greatly the advantage should the Enemy direct their march that way: on our left was a steep mountain, and a large Creek in our Front at a little Distance; we threw up some Logs one upon the other by way of a Breastwork, which we endeavoured to conceal with Bushes that the Enemy might not perceive it on their approach and extended our Line to the left across the Creek at the Foot of the Mountain where a great part of the Indians were posted; Capt. McDonell with 60 Rangers & Joseph Brant with about 30 white men & Indians lay to the Right, & the rest of the Rangers & Indians with the Detachment of the 8th occupied the center, where I placed myself. As my attention was entirely taken up with the Indians, I left the command of the Rangers to Captain Butler. We remained here from noon until Sunset & then returned to our camp. as we found by our Scouts that the Enemy had encamped below Shimong; the next morning we again moved out to our Lines, where we continued till it was dark, when, we removed to our camp as we found the Rebels had advanced no further than Shimong.

All this while both officers & men were without even a Blanket to cover them, as every thing had been sent off on the first alarm, & had scarcely time to dress a few ears of corn which was almost the whole of our Food since our coming to Chucknut. The 29th at Day-Break we again took possession of our Lines, which some officious Fellow among the Indians took upon him to alter without being opposed by the Chiefs, and turned our Left along the mountain quite the contrary way from its original situation. which was in a great measure the cause of our being obliged to give way to the Enemy, as it afforded them room for flanking us on that side without opposition. After remaining here exposed to the heat of the Sun without refreshment of any kind, till 2 o'Clock PM. a few of the Enemy made their appearance at the skirt of the Wood in our Front & amused us with some scattering shot from their Rifles, while under the cover of the Wood they were planting their Artillery and fetching a compass round the mountain to our left in order to surround us and gain the Passes by which we must retreat. I suspected their Design & endeavoured to prevail upon the Indians to retire and gain the mountain; Joseph Brant also and the Cayouga Chief came up from our Right to point out the necessity of this step, as it was evident the Enemy had discovered us & knew our situation; but the Indians were obstinately bent upon staying in the Lines. After a little while they began to play their Artillery consisting of six pieces of Cannon & Cohorns against our breast-work, discharging shells, round & grape shot, Iron

Spikes &c. incessantly which soon obliged us to leave it. I retreated with the Rangers & a number of the Indians to the Hill, which I found the Enemy had gained before us, as I foresaw they intended. The shells bursting beyond us, made the Indians imagine the Enemy had got their Artillery all round us, & so startled & confounded them that great part of them run off. We them proceeded along the Hill skirmishing with the Rebels for above a mile, till they had nearly surrounded us, & we were obliged then to make the best of our way, some along the Hill & others across the River to prevent being cut to pieces, which the greatest part of us must inevitably have been, had the Rebels acted with any spirit. Many of the Indians made no halt, but proceeded immediately to their respective Villages; the different parties of the rest and the Rangers rendezvous'd in the Evening at a Village called the Nanticoke Town, about five miles from the place of action, from whence we proceeded with our Baggage a few miles & encamped for the night.

Our loss in men, considering everything, is much less than could be expected; of the Rangers we had five men killed or taken and three wounded, & of the Indians five killed & nine wounded.

The Enemy's loss must have been considerable, as they received several vollies from a Party of our men at a small distance at a time when they were in much disorder, & nothing but their superior numbers prevented them from being put to the Routs in that Quarter.

Both officers & men behaved with much spirit, but the efforts of such a handful were of little avail against the Force they had to oppose. Joseph Brant's conduct through the whole of this affair does him much honor; he with Kiangarachta and several other Chiefs & Indians remained with us to the last.

The Delawares who had promised to collect over 200 men, had not 30 in the action, & the Rangers, from the poorness of their living, are so enfeebled, that three of the officers & several of the men had the ague upon them at the very time we were attacked.

The Enemy had been reinforced from Lake Otsego and also from the Delaware, and have some Indians with them one of whom was Killed.

They move with the greatest caution & regularity, & are more formidable than you seem to apprehend. We have not been able to get a Prisoner, tho' our Scouts have been constantly about their Camp; the morning before we had the Engagement one of our Indians in attempting to bring off a man whom he had met near their Camp, was wounded & obliged to leave him.

The Consequences of this affair will, I fear, be of the most serious nature unless there is speedily a large Reinforcement sent into the Country: at any rate those Families whose Villages & Corn have been destroyed will be flocking into Niagara to be supported, and you know the quantity of Provisions that this will consume.

I am now here with a number of Senecas & Cayougas & sending off the sick and wounded to Canadasagoe: the Families are all moving off from this place, and the Indians have not yet determined what steps to take.

JOHN BUTLER

Camp. Long House, 12 miles from
Shechquago Sept. 2nd 1779

The Rebels are advancing very rapidly and are now at Shechquago: & above one half of my men are sick & unfit for service—

[To Col. Bolton]

News About Col. Brodhead's Expedition

Cataragaras Sept. 1st 1779

Sir /

A Runner is just arrived at this Place from the Ohio, who informs me, that 30 of our Indians were attacked by a large Body of the Rebels, about four miles below Canawago; from what I can learn, we have had 3 Senecas Killed but the number of Delawar[e]s are not yet known;

It is expected that the Rebels have destroyed, ere this time, the Deleware Town and Ganackadago—

I am now going with about 40 Warriors to meet the Enemy: but the Chiefs beg that you would send them some assistance, and that soon, as their distress[e]d condition requires it—

JOHN DOCKSTEDER

[To Lt. Col. Bolton]

Activities After the Battle of Newtown

Canadasagoe Sept. 3rd 1779

Sir /

I must request of you to send four large Boats to Genessee River, as soon as possible, to carry off the sick who are many, as you will see by the inclosed Return, & also several Families who are now at the River—

The Rebels have been seen on this side Shechquago; if they advance, as it is very likely they will, I shall endeavor to harrass them on their march with the Indians & the Remainder of the Rangers, & stop them if possible before they reach this place. The Indians are much alarmed at their numbers, & I believe it will be but a small Body of them that I shall be able to Keep together.

A Delaware Indian is just come in & tells me that a Deserter from the Rebels is with Rowland Montour who is coming round the

Lake with his Family: this man says they are six Thousand strong, that three thousand of them are coming this way, and three thousand more gone with Boats up the Tioga River.

JOHN BUTLER

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

6th Sept. 1779

Sir/

I have this moment received a letter from Major Butler, in which he informs me that after repeated engagements with the Rebels, he has been obliged to retreat to Canadasego. The Enemy, by all accounts, amount to some thousands, and have six pieces of cannon, besides Coehorns. I must therefore request that you will immediately order the Light Company of the 34th Regimt to join this Garrison as soon as possible, and if you can spare fifty men more from Your Post, I shall take it as a particular Favor.

In my last letter to His Excellency, I informed him that these Posts were certainly in Danger, and must be reinforced without delay. I have therefore no doubt that you will soon have a Considerable Force at Carleton Island.

MASON BOLTON

[To Major Nairn]

Quebec 3rd Sept. 1779

Sir/

I have received a copy of your letter to Colonel Bolton giving him notice of the Rebels advance to Tioga, & expressing the urgent necessity of sending assistance to the Five Nations: their conduct hitherto has deserved all in my Power to do for them, and it is very unfortunate that I cannot manifest my Inclinations to protect them, without running a Risk of letting the Troops sent up for that purpose, perish for want of Provisions. I have however determined to send up a Detachment consisting of about 380 picked men, besides Indians, under the command of Sir John Johnson, who has orders to join you by the shortest Routs, which will probably be from the Genesee river, of which Colonel Bolton will send advice to Sir John Johnson, who will be at Carleton Island before it can reach him. I send orders to Colonel Bolton for that Purpose, by the Messenger who will drop this for you at Irondequot, or Genesee River.

I hope the Indians will now be convinced of my inclinations in their Favor by the Risk I run to serve them—and they must in return, have consideration enough for the Troops, to make Demands for Provisions as seldom, and as moderate as their wants will admit of—and indeed I must expect much from your knowledge of Col Bolton's situation with regard to Provisions, & your influence with the Indians in this most essential Business. For, after the Troops have been sent into the Country, to have them

starved or obliged to abandon the purpose of their enterprize for want of Provisions, would be followed by much more fatal consequences than if they had never undertaken it.

The Zeal which you have already manifested for the King's Service will, I cannot doubt, continue to prompt you to advance it by a cordial assistance, & mutual acquiescence with Sir John Johnson in every operation that may tend to promote it

F. HALDIMAND

[To John Butler]

Quebec 3rd Septr: 79

Sir

Yesterday I received your Letter of the 16th August inclosing Copies of Major Butler's Letters reporting the Progress of the Rebels into the Indian Country and the sense of the five nations thereon, from which I have determined, tho' attended with great Inconvenience and at a Risk that may be fatal to the King's Interest to push up a Reinforcement to join the Rangers & Indians, under the Command of Sir John Johnson.—I have likewise desired Colonel Campbell to Collect a large Body of the Indians of Canada to accompany the Mohawks from hence under the direction of Capt. Fraser—Sir John's Command will consist of one Captain 3 subs: 6 serjts. 6 Corporals 2 Drummers and 100 Private of the 34th Regimt. one sub. and about 25 privates of the 74th about 150 of Sir John's Corps and a compleat Company of German Yaugars —the whole amounting to about 380 Rank and file inclusive of Indians and of the Light Company of the 34th which I hope is already gone to their assistance—If this reinforcement arrives in time it cannot fail of producing a happy effect, but I dread the shifts they may be put to for provisions before it can be in my power to forward any next Spring, however, much must be risked to preserve the friendship of the Indians who have hitherto certainly behaved well—The inclosed Letter to Sir John Johnson will shew you that I have taken the precaution to send with the Detachment as much provision as they can carry, this will necessarily retard them but there is no alternative. I have ordered that this may be conveyed to you by a Birch Cannoe, as the vessels, if there are any at Carleton Island, must be detained there, to carry the Troops and provisions across the Lake, if the vessels should be at Niagara, you will upon Receipt of this dispatch them for that purpose You will give Sir John every possible intelligence of Major Butler's situation in order to accelerate his passage to him, and keep up a constant communication with him, giving me information by express of whatever may be necessary for me to be acquainted with, every effort shall be exerted to forward a supply to you equivalent to the immense drain this detachment must prove to you, and if the season should be, I hope it will be ef-

fected—The result of this expedition will be known very soon after the junction with the Six Nations—If it should prove as favorable as I have reason to expect it will, and that, from an exact inspection and calculation of your provisions, you should find that you have not enough to supply your necessary demands, you must, in that case, send down as many men as will leave the rest sufficiently provided. Should this detachment winter with you, you will be at a loss for Barracks—it will be necessary therefore to make some provision of that kind by building rough Log Houses and distributing the Troops at Forts Erie, Little Niagara and the Landing—The provision store at Fort Erie, I am told will hold a number of men, Log Houses may be conveniently built at the Landing, and at Little Niagara—and some may be erected in the Fort—I am sensible your strength will not admit of this work being rapidly carried on, but as I hope you have by this time compleated the repairs intended to make the place defensible—all your men may be employed in it—and if the materials are provided by the time the Troops leave the field, the Houses will soon be erected—I have prepared another Letter intended to fall into the Enemy's hands. should the messenger be taken, he will have orders to destroy this.—

The necessity for the Indians applying themselves to their Hunting and providing Cattle to support themselves must be strongly represented to them to gratify their earnest requests, and to protect them from the ravages of the Enemy. Troops have been sent up, at a risk of perishing for want, in return they must do all in their power to prevent that evil.

An officer and 30 men of the royal artillery will immediately proceed to Niagara; in order to relieve those at the different posts, as you have been already informed,—but should circumstances absolutely require your being further strengthened, you will for the time, detain them at Niagara.

FRED: HALDIMAND

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

A letter intended to deceive the Americans by having it fall into their hands:

Quebec 3rd September 1779

Sir

I have received your letter, reporting the progress of the Rebels into the Indian Country and the brave determination of the Five Nations to oppose them while a man remains alive—This resolution is so laudable, that I cannot think of refusing them the succours they have so earnestly requested, tho' it will be attended with some inconvenience, from the difficulty of transporting an additional quantity of provisions—it shall however be done, and I hope effectually; My dispatches from England inform me that a re-

inforcement of 3,000 English Troops and a large Fleet of Victualers are to sail for this place the last week in June—this circumstance is an additional Inducement for my giving the five nations immediate assistance, and I have ordered up Detachments from the different regiments—(Composed of the Light Infantry Companies and picked men) amounting to about 860—besides a detachment of 30 artillery with four Light Six pounders & four grasshoppers—This Little army will be commanded by Sir John Johnson, who will have the assistance of officers chosen for there knowledge of the Country, activity and Conduct—Capt Fraser will have the direction of a least 300 of the 7 nation Indians who accompany the Mohawks to the Seneca Country.—Captain Fraser has orders to dispose of his Indians as much as possible, in the enemies Rear, but not to appear untill Sir John Johnson has given them battle—I hope this measure will secure the Indian Villages for this year—and I shall take care that such shall be adopted early in the spring, as will leave them but little to apprehend in future.

This will be sent to you in a Birch Cannoe, as I have desired the vessels that are at Carleton Island, to be detained there, to pass the Troops across the Lake, and if you should have any of them at Niagara, you will send them off immediately for the same purpose, as I hope the Troops will be ready to embark from thence in 15 days from this date.

FRED: HALDIMAND

]To Col. Bolton]

Niagara Septemr 7th 1779

Sir /

I wish it was in my power to enclose Your Excellency more favourable accounts of the Rangers & Indians with Major Butler, but the difficulties he met with in assembling the Indians, & in procuring Provisions, were much greater than I could possibly expect. The superior number of the enemy with artillery & Cohorns gives me now very little hopes, that he will be able to drive the Rebels out of this country. The Indians are so extremely alarmed, that all he and the Chiefs cou'd do, they cou'd not prevail upon more than 300 Warriors to join them & in the last engagement by every account I am informed, they did by no means shew that spirit which they have done upon former occasions; at this time I am convinced he has not 150 of them with him at Casandagoe, and near one hundred of the Rangers are ill with the Fever & Ague, they are now waiting for Batteaux at Irondequot to return to this place; I have often wished it had been in Your Excellency's power to have taken Post at Oswego, or even to have sent 500 men sooner to reinforce this Garrison & Detroit, which wou'd in my opinion have secured the Six nations in our Interest and saved the upper Posts, but now I believe double the number will scarce answer that purpose. I have ordered the Light Infantry Company of the Kings Regiment with the few Rangers here to embark in Batteaux for Irondequat, in order to join the

Major as soon as possible, and have also sent the Grasshoppers with ammunition & provisions in hopes to rouse the Indians to act with vigour, & when the Light Company of the 34th, & the men that Major Nairne can spare from his Garrison arrive, I shall send him another Reinforcement. I have also wrote to Captain Lernoult, that if his Post is not in danger, I shall call upon him for the Detachment I sent to Detroit under the command of Capt Parke, who is just arrived here, from this officers account as well as from Captain Lernoult's last letter, I have the greatest reason to suppose the Rebels have laid aside all thoughts of an expedition this year against that Post. Their whole Force I believe is certainly intended against the Six Nations, & possibly Niagara. The Indians do not scruple to say that what the Rebels often told them will prove true, & that we only meant to deceive them and leave them in the lurch, for that we had not a sufficient Force in this Country to assist them. The Mohawks & Senecas I have still hopes will not accept of any Terms the Rebels may offer, and are sending their Families here, but as to the Rest, I am almost certain they will accept of terms & probably join the enemy. Several Villages and Corn Fields have been already distroyed, and of course their Families will come here. This will make it necessary for me to request a further supply of Provisions, there are 40 Batteaux Loads of Merchants goods still at the Landing, but as soon as an opportunity offers I mean to send one of the large Vessels up to assist in bringing them down to this Post, as to the rest at Forts Schlosser & Erie, the officers commanding have already received orders what to do with them—I have now only to assure Your Excellency, that I have the highest opinion of the few brave men under my command, and that I am determined to defend this Post to the last extremity; but you Sir, know well the number of men necessary to defend works of 1100 yards in circumference, where there are five Bastions, two Block Houses, & many other Places to be manned—I have received your Excellency[s] favour of the 9th of August, in regard to the high price of Cattle I immediately put a stop to it, & gave an order that nothing of that Kind should be sold without first acquainting me with the Price. Some time ago, I was informed that a Cow which cost eight or ten pounds New York C[urr]y. would sell for Twenty at Carleton Island, and People apply'd to me for leave to take their Cattle to that Post. but I would by no means suffer such a Trade to be carried on, & gave orders to the Captains of the Vessels upon no acc[oun]t to receive any Cattle on board their Vessels with out an order in writing signed by the Commanding Officer. the Indians have not brought in Cattle this year, all we have purchased was a few cows from the distressed Families—Captain Parke (Paymaster to the Regiment) having Regimental Business to settle with the Paymaster General, I have given him leave to go down to Quebec, he is well acquainted with all our Transactions here, and at Detroit & is very capable of informing Your Excellency of any particulars

you may desire to know. Mr. Toupant Pothier has returned to Montreal a considerable time ago—

MASON BOLTON

Major De Peyster has purchased the Sloop wellsome.

More News About Col. Brodhead

Sepr 8th

I have this moment received a letter from Lieut. Docksteder of the Indian Department, which informs me, that a Party of 300 Rebels from Venango, have destroyed the Delaware & Canawaugo Villages, & are Building Forts in their neighbourhood at Venango & LeBoeuff

Sepr 10th

This day I received another Express with a letter from the Major which will inform Your Excellency that the Rebel Army have taken possession of Canadesago, & by all accts are determined to pay me a visit, I have therefore wrote to Capt[ain] Lernoult to send me all the men he can spare,—by letters from him this day Detroit is not in the least danger—, the Rebel army is commanded by Sullivan & Maxwell.

[To General Haldimand]

The following letter shows the efforts of Colonel John Butler to induce the Indians to make another stand against the Americans.

Canawagaras Sept. 8th 1779

Sir /

I endeavoured but to no purpose to prevail upon the Indians to make a stand at Canadasagoe; the Rebels took possession of that Village the 7th Inst. in the Evening; Joseph Brant who staid to reconnoitre them and was near the place where they entered it, says that to all appearance they cannot be less than three thousand men. The Chiefs have now determined to collect all the Force they can and meet them before they reach this, and I send in Capt[ain] Powell to bring off with him such Indians as may be about Niagara in which I must beg you to give him all the assistance you can; & also to send out with them every body you can spare. The 7th Inst. in the evening a Runner came in from the Ohio informing that the Rebels were come up the Allegany, & had penetrated as far as Canawago, the Village at which Mr. Docksteder was stationed last winter, & another Runner who came in this morning, says they have destroyed a Village called Nasadago a Days journey on this side Canawago. but says they returned from there and were building a Fort at a Place which the Indians called Ningaracharie, & I believe is the same as LaBoe[u]f.

The Indians seem in better spirits & more determined than I have seen them since they left Chuchnut, and if they get any suc-

cour from Niagara I am in hopes I shall be able to persuade them to attack the Rebels on their march, at any rate I shall do my endeavour to get them to make a stand.

Joseph & the Chiefs think that a few Troops from Niagara would be of the greatest service at this Junction, as they would encourage & give them Spirits, & they imagine that this cannot be of any bad consequences to your Post as you can always be reinforced from Carleton Island.

The Indian with Capt[ain] Powell has some strings of Wampum as a message from the Chiefs to the Indians about Niagara.

JOHN BUTLER

To Lieut Col. Bolton]

Niagara 9th Sept. 1779

A List of Sundry Articles wanted for the use of Major Butler Corps of Rangers—

2 pieces fine Green Cloth for officers
4 Do - - - white do.
3 Do middling Green do. for Serjeants
Buttons & trimmings suitable for the above
360 Suits of Cloathing for men.
360 Blankets Coats, or Blankets in proportion.
50 Pieces of Binding for ditto
1500 pairs mens strong shoes.
1500 Shirts
1440 Pairs [of] Stockings
60 Dozen Handcfs.
40 Pieces of Russia sheeting for Trowsers.
30 Dozen shoe Buckles
30 Do knee do
30 Do sleeve do.
40 lbs. Thread Different Colours
2 needles assorted
30 Boxes [of] soap
20 Do Candles
4 Do Chocolate
300 lbs. Coffee
700 lbs. Bohea Tea
200 lbs. Green do
30 Barrels [of] Brown sugar.
3000 lbs Loaf sugar
8 Dozen Buckle Breeches
10 Do shoes ditto
20 Do Blacking Balls
20 Do Ivory combs
30 Dozen Horn Combs
30 Do Pomatum
50 lbs Hair Powder
60 lbs Pepper
30 Dozen Clasp Knives
60 Camp Kettles
60 Frying Pans
15 dozen scissors
10 Pieces Russia Drilling for Knapsacks
3 cwt Whitning
3 cwt Starch
1 cwt Blue
3000 lbs Cheese
3000 lbs Tobacco
10 dozen Tobacco Boxes
30 lbs Shoemakers Thread
10 dozen shoemakers auls
360 Tin Canteens
90 lbs Mustard
1 Dozen orderly Books
6 Reams Writing Paper
400 Quil[l]s
100 Gallons [of] Vinegar
12 Barrels [of] Molasses
10 Boxes essence [of] Spruce

There will also be Rum wanted, if a greater quantity shou'd not be sent up, than has already been done.

Canawagaras Sept 10th 1779

Sir /

I received yours of the 6th Inst. yesterday, soon after I had dispatched Capt[ain] Powell to Niagara. Its contents please the Indians much, who I don't doubt will now assemble with the greater Alacrity for the Reinforcement you have sent. Many of the Rangers who were ill of the Ague and sent to Genessee River have since recovered so as to be able to do Duty again.

Kiangarachta is gone this morning to meet the Chiefs at Genessee; all the Delawares are there, and are now determined to act, & from every appearance I have Hopes that the Indians will exert themselves with Spirit and Resolution. Capt[ain] Brant is gone with Kiangrachta, there is a very good understanding between them, and they concur with each other on every occasion—

As all the orders in my account were drawn on Mr. Robison, I have since thought it best to endorse to Bills to him: I send them inclosed herein—

Capt[ain] Butler with Rowland Montour and some other Indians is about Canadaragoe & Canadasagoe watching the motions of the Enemy, I expect some accounts from them to day. I hope to be able with what Horses I can get from the Indians to have the Grass-hoppers amunition &c. all brought up from the Lake by tomorrow night, should the Boats be arrived. I forgot to mention in my last that the report of a Deserters having come to Montour was false—It is true that the Senecas can muster 500 men, but you must consider that near one half of this number live on the Ohio, and are employed in defending their own Country, & can therefore give us no assistance in this Quarter; and in Regard of the rest of the Five Nations, you know the Oneydas, and many of the Tuscararas & Onandagoes are in the Rebel Interest.

Capt[ain] Butler is come in this Evening; the Rebels left Canadasagoe yesterday and will be at Canadaragoe to night; if they advance we shall meet them in all probability the Day after To Morrow.

Of the 150 Indians you mention to have fitted out, not more than Fifty have joined me, & greater part of these I met at Canadasagoe.

John Butler

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

11th P.S.—The Rebels came last night to Canadaragoe. I have sent Horses &c to the Lake but have as yet no accounts of the arrival of the Boats; I wish the Party may be able to reach this before the Enemy approach.

12th In the morning. The Enemy came last night to a Village called the Snow town on the road to Genesee about a days march from it. No news yet of the Boats or Reinforcement. We are just setting out, as the Indians intend to attack them before they reach Genessee.

Niagara Sept 16th 1779

Sir /

I enclose Your Excellency Mr Flem[m]ings letters to Captain Lernoult concerning the Rum forwarded to Detroit, also copies of Letters from Major Butler, which will inform you of 4000 Rebels being encamped at Genesee within 70 or 80 miles of the Post. Maxwell I am informed commands 1500 or 2000 at Venango and has sent strong Detachments up the Aleganny and to Le Boeuf. The Haldimand I have order[e]d to the Landing to bring down 48 Batteau Loads of merchants goods and have sent orders to the officers commanding at Forts Erie & Schlosser to hold themselves in readiness to join this Garrison at a moments warning. I expect dayly the Detachments from Detroit, and hope the next Vessel will bring a Reinforcement from Carleton Island.

The Rebels have destroyed most of the Indian Villages & Corn Fields, therefore I wish soon to see their Families come in, otherwise I shall give over all hopes of their assistance any longer. they are extremely dissatisfied that Troops were not sent to Oswego or to this Post, notwithstanding all that Major Butler, Sienguarachte, and Joseph can say or do to keep them in temper. I have sent orders to the Major upon no acc[oun]t to suffer his Retreat to be cut off, nor to risk the Light Infantry Companies of the Kings or 34th Regiment which wou[l]d be no small loss to this Garrison: Captain Harris has also received private Instructions how he is to act, as I have very little dependence on the Indians. our works are almost finished, and I have no doubt will be defended with spirit notwithstanding our weak Garrison. by the last accounts the Rangers have not more than 150 men fit for Duty, and we have 40 sick in this Garrison.

Mason Bolton

[To General Haldimand]

Sept 17th

Joseph Brant (who upon all occasions, deserves every thing I can say in his favour) is just arrived and informs me that a considerable number of Indians with their Families are coming in tomorrow, Siengerachta is with them, & has behaved extremely well; I cou'd wish some handsome present was made to him as he has great weight with the Six Nations. Joseph some time ago was not on the best terms with him, they had their Quarrels like other great men, however now they are perfectly reconciled and determined to return in a day or two to take ample revenge. Major Butler is also under the necessity of coming in with the Light Infantry and Rangers for want of Provisions, but leaves a Party with several Scouts to watch the Enemy's motions—I am informed the Major has received Letters acquainting him, that Colonel Guy Johnson will certainly come to Niagara, in that case if he shou'd apply to me for leave to go to Montreal, I believe you will think it right not to refuse him—

This evening Lieut Glenie in a Boat arrived here from Carleton Island, and has deliver[e]d me Your Excellency's letters but as the Haldimand is ready to sail, & Sir John Johnson with the Troops may be at Carleton Island I thought it best not to detain her a moment. The Seneca and the new Vessel are also before this time at that Island, so that I hope soon to see them there—The Rebels have done all the mischief they can, therefore cannot remain long in the Indian Country, unless they intend to attack this Post which I believe they will scarce venture to attempt without getting a supply of Cannon & provisions by the way of Oswego or Presq disle but without an Enemy's approach I can now plainly foresee I shall have many difficulties to encounter for the Indians are extremely attached to Major Butler however Sir be assured I shall do my utmost for the Kings service—I hope Your Excellency will have no objections to my sending Lieut Glenie back to Canada, for this is no time to hold General Courts Martial.

I have sent down to Montreal Lieut Colonel Slacey and Lieut Holden as the Indians are extremely enraged, they have been Prisoners here since the affair of Cherry Valley & in my opinion shou[l]d not be exchanged for some time—

[Mason Bolton]

Buffaloe Creek 14th Septemr 1779

We left Canawagores on the 12th instant in the afternoon, and took Possession of the ground where we meant to Surprise the Enemy early the next morning.

The Rangers by desire of the Indians were intermixt amongst them. We lay for a few hours undiscovered near the Enemy, who were busily employed in making a Bridge over a Swamp which lay in their Front, and it was our Intention to have let part of them pass the Swamp, and then to have attacked them in such a manner as to make it difficult for the others to Support them. While we were waiting with impatience for the Enemy to begin to pass their Bridge, we were allarmed by a firing above us to the Right, which Continuing for some time, the Indians called out that we were surrounded, and we immediately pushed for the Place where the firing was. upon coming up I found that a Scout of the Rebels, 30 in number had fallen in with the Right of our Line, and 22 of them been killed by the Rangers & Indians in that Quarter. A Lieut. who commanded the Party and a Private were taken. The Officer who is a very intelligent Person Says, their Army consists of near 5000 Continental Troops—1500 of which are Rifle Men, commanded by General Sullivan and Brigadiers Hand, Poor and Clinton. They have but a month's Provisions and intend, according to his account, to come no further than Genessee —They have four Pieces of Cannon (the largest a Six Pounder) a

Cohorn and a Howitzer—They are building a strong Fort at Tioga and mean to keep a large Garrison there.

This affair having discovered us to the Enemy, and by that means frustrated our Designs of surprising them, the Indians insisted upon retreating to Genessee, to which I agreed as we were but 400, and could not expect to effect any thing against so numerous an enemy—We found by our Scouts that they had followed us closely, and had encamped on the opposite side of the Genessee River about two miles from the Village. At Day Break this morning, as the Enemy were in motion, and all the Indians, except about 60, moved off, I found myself under the necessity of leaving the Place, which the Rebels took Possession of, in less than two hours after.

I am now on my march to Niagara, and all the Indians with Families are moving in, as their Villages & Corn are Destroyed, and they have nothing left to support themselves upon.

The Indians say, that after they have moved their Families to a Place of Safety, they will then go and take Revenge of the Enemy.

[John Butler]

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

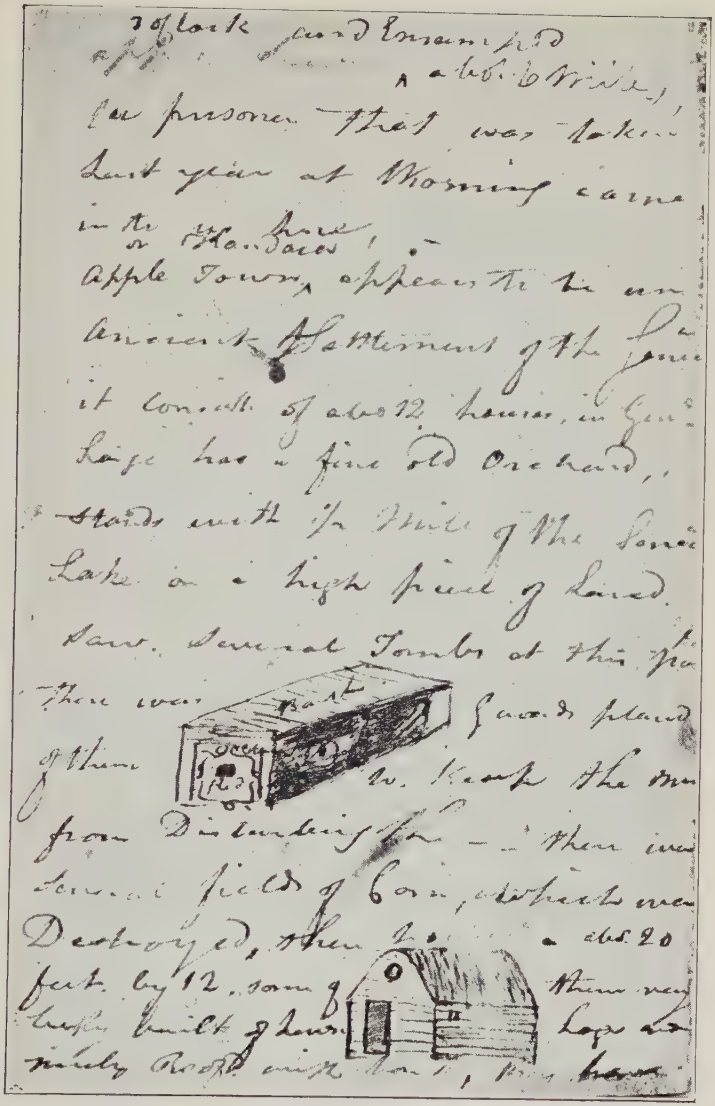
Niagara Septemr 16th 1779

The inclosed copies of letters from Major Butler which will inform you of 4000 Rebels being encamped at Genessee within 70 miles or 80 of this Post—Maxwell, I am informed Commands 1500 or 2000 men at Venango, and has sent strong Detachments up the Allegany and to Le Beuf. The *Haldimand* I have ordered to the Landing to bring down 48 Batteaux Loads of Merchants goods, and have sent orders to the officers Commanding at Forts Erie and Schlosser to hold themselves in Readiness to join this Garrison at a moments warning. I expect Dayly the Detachments from Detroit, and hope the next Vessels will bring a Reinforcement from Carleton Island—The Rebels have destroyed most of the Indian Villages and Corn fields, therefore I wish to soon see their Families come in, otherwise I shall give over all hopes of their assistance any longer. Our works are almost finished, and I have no Doubt will be defended with spirit, notwithstanding our weak Garrison—by the last accounts the Rangers have not more than 150 men fit for duty and we have 40 sick in this Garrison.

* * * * * *

[Mason Bolton]

[To General Haldimand]



(*Courtesy New York State Education Department from original in New York State Library*)

PAGE OF FAIRLIE'S JOURNAL SHOWING ENTRY OF SEPT. 5TH. SKETCH OF TOMB AND HOUSE

DEDICATION OF SULLIVAN-CLINTON MONUMENT AT SYRACUSE, ON ROUTE OF COLONEL GANSEVOORT'S RETURN MARCH, SEPTEMBER 22, 1929

Niagara September 20th 1779

Sir /

I am sorry to inform you that the Reinforcements Your Excellency is sending up are too late to save the Country of the Five Nations from being Destroyed: this has been very rapidly effected by the Rebels whose superior strength & numbers made all our efforts to stop their progress of small avail. Your Excellency has been informed thro' Col. Bolton of everything that has happened, and the Intelligence received of the numbers & Designs of the Enemy. The Rebels taking possession of Genesee obliged me to retreat to this Place for the want of Provisions, which it was impossible to have conveyed to us in sufficient quantity, as all communication with the Lake was by that means cut off. By the Scouts left to watch the motions of the Enemy I am informed that they have burnt the Genesee Village & destroyed the Corn and are making a hasty Retreat: whether they mean to return the same way they came, or by way of Fort Stanwix I am not yet informed, but expect soon to know: Two parties of Rangers & Indians leave this tomorrow, the one is to go along the Lake, taking with them a Gunboat, to reconnoitre as far as Oswego, and we hope soon to be fully assured whether the Rebels have any immediate Designs against this Post or not.

In Your Excellency's Letter of the 26th of July you complain of the great expence of the Indian Department at the Upper Posts: I can only answer for the accounts of that under my immediate Direction that all the Economy possible has been used, but Your Excellency will observe if you consult the Indian accounts from this Post, that they are generally much swelled by Charges which the Indian Department has nothing at all to do with, such as Cattle purchased for the use of the Garrison, Necessaries for Distrest Families & Prisoners, & many other things in which Indians are not at all concerned.

I must acquaint Your Excellency that I do not think it will be in my Power to lessen this Expence but fear it will be much increased by the distrest situation to which the Indians under my charge are now reduced in being driven from their Country and having everything destroyed; at the same time as strict Economy shall be used as is possible.

[Mason Bolton]

[To General Haldimand]

Niagara 22nd Sepr. 1779

Sir /

Yesterday I received a note from Joseph Brant informing me that the Army under General Sullivan after destroying the Genesea, as well as all the other Villages and Corn fields are now on their march back to Tioga, which by all accounts is near three hundred miles from this, of which you will acquaint Sir John

Johnson as soon as he arrives—to follow them is too late to be of any great consequence, and would be attended with many difficulties, for with the few Horses here I cannot conceive it possible for him to carry the quantity of Provisions necessary to support the Troops under his command with the Canadien, Indiens and those of the Six Nations that would certainly join him, besides its now rather late in the Season—however his Excellencie may think it necessary some thing should be done in order to return the visit they paid the Six Nations, at any rate to reinforce the upper Posts I am convinced will be absolutely necessary, for I have not the least doubt but in the Spring they will make an attempt to take some of them before His Excellencie can possibly send us any assistance, & Niagara I think the most likely to be attacked, as they have now cut a road to the Genesea.

I should be happy to see Sir John Johnson here, & by that time may have it in my power to give him a more certain account of the Enemy's motions.

The Indiens bear this misfortune with more patience than I could possibly expect, & seemed determined to take revenge when an opportunity offers, but the loss of their Corn &c. and the scarcity of Provisions here to supply the number I shall have at this Post, makes it impracticable at present.

Mason Bolton

[To Major Nairne]

Niagara Octr 3rd 1779

Sir /

I have received you Favor of the 29th of Aug, and beg leave to acquaint you, that Joseph Brant (who went with a Party some time ago to observe the Enemy's motions) arrived here yesterday, and informs me that Genl. Sullivan had detached six hundred men from Canadasagoe towards Fort Stanwix, and had returned with the main Body to Tioga. where a strong Fort was erected, and that a sufficient Force would be left to defend it with Cannon &c.

Such are the accounts I have received lately. The Distance from this to Tioga, I believe, may be near three hundred miles, and I am afraid with all the Horses we can collect, you will find many difficulties in transporting the Cannon & Provisions from Ascerotus to Canadasagoe, which is scarce half way, however Sir You may depend I shall give all the assistance in my power. I have consulted Major Butler and every person here, who can give me the least information, but they all seem to think the season is too far advanced to attempt to dislodge the enemy from a Post at so great a distance. As soon as the Haldimand & Seneca arrive I shall send the Rangers & Indians down to the place of rendezvous with the Cohorns & artillery stores you have desired & shou[l]d you have occasion for one of the small Vessels, the Caldwell will best answer the purpose, she draws less water than the

Mohawk, & Capt Baker is well acquainted with the south side of the Lake—Many of the Rangers are ill with the Fever and Ague, however you shall have the Light Company of the 34th Regt with every man of Major Butlers Corps able to march. Lieut Colleton with the artillery men shall also embark with the Troops.

* * * * * *

MASON BOLTON

Quebec 6th Octr. 1779

Sir

I have received your letter of the 17th September covering letters from Major Butler, an account of the Expences incurred on his Expedition, and one of the Naval Department to the 10th May 79—and likewise the Commissary's letters to Captain Lernoult concerning the deficiency of Rum—

From the Enemy's Force, and the great caution they observed upon their march into the Indian Country, I am not surprized at their penetrating as far as Genessee, there being no force great enough to oppose them, but I hope the arrival of Sir John Johnson will reassemble the Indians, and confirm them in the sentiments I am glad to hear they still retain, notwithstanding the loss of the Villages and Corn.—

I would by all means have you encourage the Six Nations to settle upon the Banks of the Genessee river, where they can so easily receive assistance from Niagara by the Lake—in the meantime, unless you succeed in persuading them to send down to this province, the greatest part of their women and children, they will not only bring distress upon the Garrison, but reduce themselves to great misery—they cannot be so unreasonable as to suppose it possible that a sufficiency of provisions to maintain them all can be transported to Niagara. After having made an exact, and certain calculation of the provision you have in store, and comparing it with an estimation of your wants, no time must be lost in sending to Detroit, and to this part of the province whatever number of the Detachment under Sir John Johnson may be necessary—I shall write to you and Sir John, particular letters upon this subject, I purpose leaving a strong garrison at Carleton Island, the particulars of which, I shall likewise inform you of.

In the course of the winter, I do not apprehend that any attack can be made upon your post, nor will it be possible for Sir John Johnson to effect anything against the Enemy.

This consideration, and the scarcity of provisions and the want of Barracks will make it necessary to recall the greatest part of his Detachment to Carleton Island; from whence it can proceed upon any enterprize they may be needfull in the spring—It will be necessary to Compleat the Garrison at Michilimakinac, to two Companies, it will this year be too late—but the number of men

for that purpose, will assist in Garrisoning Detroit, untill they can be conveniently forwarded, at which time, a Captain must be sent to Command at Michilimakinac.

The happy understanding subsisting between Joseph and Schenderachta, gives me great pleasure it is a proof of the attachment to their King, as well as of their understanding—I shall endeavour to find a present of some sort for each of them—I shall write to England for something for them next spring—I think Sayawa's Pension will be very well bestowed to Schenderachta—I shall write to Colonel Johnson, to let him have it as a reward for his services, and a Continuance, of his friendship.—* * * * *

FRED: HALDIMAND

[To Lieut. Col. Bolton]

Quebec 17th October 1779

Sir /

I have received your letter of the 20th September reporting the necessity of Your Return to Niagara, and the Distress the Five Nations have sustained by the Invasion of their Country, the difficulties, from a want of Provisions, experienced by the small number of men under your command, and which I much fear, will be severely felt in the course of the winter at Niagara is a proof of the fatal consequences that must have attended sending any considerable Body of men into the Indian Country, without a possibility of furnishing them with Provisions.

I derive great pleasure from the assurance you give me of the unshaken Fidelity testified by the Five Nations to His Majesty's Interest, notwithstanding the losses they have sustained in support of them. I have the most favorable opinion of their conduct, and they may depend upon my affording them every assistance in my Power—I am extremely sensible of the zeal and attention you have shewn in forwarding the Kings Service, while you have conducted the Department to which you belong, and I cannot doubt, that, notwithstanding Colonel Johnsons return to his duty, the same inclinations will prompt you to give him every advice and aid which your longer, and more intimate knowledge of these affairs enable you to afford, for the advancement of the Public good, and common cause, in which His Majesty's faithful subjects are embarked. * * * * * * *

FRED. HALDIMAND

[To Colonel Butler]

X

SOME NEW MATERIALS ON THE AMERICAN SIDE

Most of the sources written by Americans on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign have been printed in one place or another and are fairly accessible. It is intended to give here only a few letters

and reports hitherto unprinted, and several items of particular importance which have been printed since the publication of the volume on "*General John Sullivan's Indian Expedition 1779*" by the State of New York in 1887.

The following letters from Philip Schuyler relate to VanSchaick's expedition against the Onondagas April 19–25, 1779:

Albany April 24th: 1779

Dear Sir

On the 21st Instant I received two Letters from Mr. Deane, copies whereof I have the Honor to inclose to your Excellency.

"Some Oneidas, Tuscaroras and an Onondaga Sachem now in Town inform me that the Cayugas mean thro' the Oneidas to beg peace of us—Should that really be their Intention of their Journey to Oneida, the Commissioners will be at a loss how to act until either your Excellency's sentiments or those of Congress are obtained—I wish therefore that they should be furnished with Instructions for their Direction, should the Cayugas or any other of the hostile Tribes propose Terms of peace."

I am informed the Batteaux to convey the Troops intended for the Enterprise against Onandaga reached Fort Schuyler on Sunday last. If so, I believe Colonel Van Schaick will probably have reached the place of his Destination as last night.

"Information has been received here that a few people have been killed and others made prisoners in Tryon County and some Settlements destroyed. That a Body of about four hundred from Canada had been discovered near Stony Arabia—If this Account is true the settlement will be destroyed before the Troops and Militia marched to its relief can reach it."

PH. SCHUYLER

[To General Washington]

Albany April 27th 1779

Dear Sir

Last Night Captain Graham of Van Schaick's delivered me Dispatches from that officer, advising me of the Success of the Troops of the United States under his Command on the enterprize against Onondaga, for particulars, permit me to refer your Excellency to the inclosed papers.

The secrecy Dispatch and propriety with which Colonel Van Schaick has executed his orders to him great Honor, and your Excellency will perceive by his Letter that he is highly satisfied with the Conduct of the officers and Troops that accompanied him on the expedition.

General Clinton, who marched with the Troops mentioned in my last finding none of the Enemy who were supposed to be in

Tryon County has proceeded to Sacandaga on the West Branch of Hudson's River to erect a picket Fort in order to cover the Northern Frontiers of that County.

I shall direct the prisoners Colonel Van Schaick has made to be secured in this place until your Excellency's pleasure is known.

Ph: SCHUYLER

His Excellency General Washington

Preliminary Orders from Washington to Sullivan

Head Quarters Midd. Brook May 4th 1779

Sir,

Having appointed you to take the command of an expedition which is to be carried on to the westward against the Indians of the Six Nations—You will be pleased forthwith to repair to Easton, in order to superintend and forward the preparations, for that purpose.

You will previously make every necessary arrangement with the Quarter Master and Commissary General relative to your supplies of stores and provisions which ought to be hastened to the places of their destination with all possible dispatch:—The time, manner and route for conveying the cattle for this expedition ought to be particularly ascertained.

I have ordered a regiment from Poor's brigade to cross to Easton —another from Maxwell's will proceed there in a few days—But the troops should not be drawn together till the preparations are complete or nearly so, to avoid consumption of the provisions and stores, destined for the support of the expedition.

It is essential that the road from Easton to Wyoming be opened without delay, that the troops and supplies passing that way may meet with no obstruction.

You will open a correspondence with General Hand at Wyoming and instruct him to give all the aid he can with the troops under his command to accelerate the transportation of provisions and stores up the River. You will also direct him to put every engine in motion to obtain the most precise intelligence of the enemy's situation and views—And in short you will make every exertion and employ every expedient to complete the preparations for penetrating into the India Country by way of Tioga on the Susquehannah on the plan which has been already explained—and may be finally adopted. You will be pleased to consider these as preparatory instructions. When our plan of operations is ultimately fixed and ready for execution you will receive others more full and definite—

[GEORGE WASHINGTON]

To Major General Sullivan

Sullivan's First Report to Washington

Easton, May 8th 1779

Dear General

I arrived here yesterday morning Spencers and Malcolms Regiments are Lying here not in the heighths of good Humor. Courtlandts Regt I can hear nothing of: Capt Craige Late of the Light Horse arrived This Day at 2°C p m from Mohacomac & Says he heard nothing of them though he Enquired I suppose they have not marched—I have Sent to Fort Penn for Capt Patterson & made every other enquiry Respecting the Roads all agree that the Indian Paths marked from Easton to Wioming on Scull's maps is impassable for waggons & cannot possibly be made So—but That there is a possibility of Compleating a Road from a Little above Pocono Point to Wioming This is the Road most Commonly used at this Time. it falls into the Indian Paths twelve miles at this Side Wyoming. There will be a number of persons with me tomorrow who are well acquainted with all the Roads if this Road cannot be made passable There is another Rout by Shoholly house where the Road is good but is Thirty Eight miles further perhaps this must Eventually be the Rout—There has not as yet been an attempt to prepare the other Road nor has any person been to Look at them I will do Every thing in my power to Set the wheels in motion & make the necessary preparations for the Army to move on—I find that the Expedition is no Secret in this Quarter—I find by Colo Spencer that Colo Linelley has no Thoughts of Resigning—he is now at home and has not been with his Regiment Six months During the Last two years Colo Spenser wishes to have him Left out & Colo Smith appointed your Excellency may perhaps find a method to bring this about. General Hand is not yet arrived at Wyoming Colo Butler writes on the 4th that the Troops at Wyoming are in great want of ammunitions I shall send on Some as Soon as an Escort can be fixed which cannot be till Courtlands Regt arrives as the Indians being on Every part of the Road will render it necessary to have the escort very Strong—a Sergeant of Spenser who was made prisoner at Mohacomoc & Carried to Chemung has just Returned he Enlisted with them & was in one of the parties Sent out to Cutt off the Communications between this place & Wioming he Says that They know of the Expedition & are taking Every Steps to Destroy the Communication on the Susquehannah and I think the Sooner we can get into the Country the Better.

I am Dear General with the most perfect Respect Your Excellencys most obedt Servt

Jno Sullivan

To His Excey Genl Washington

Washington to Schuyler About the Progress of the Campaign

Smith's in the Clove June the 13 1779

Dear Sir

I received last night your favour of the 8th Instant and I hope General Clinton is now moving according by the routes and according to the Orders he has received from General Sullivan, under whose command he has been entirely placed for some time past and of which I advised him by Two different conveyances, besides writing to him thro the hands of General Sullivan. As it was conceived best that the Troops composing his command should not collect at Conajoharie till the main body of the detachment with General Sullivan was nearly ready to move towards Wyoming, he was only directed to have things in such a train as to be able to assemble there upon the shortest notice as the point of rendezvous in the first instance and to proceed from thence either to form a junction on the Susquehannah at Tioga or to move up the Mohawk River as he might be ordered—He is entirely as I have observed under Genl Sullivan's direction.

With respect to Company of Gansevoorts Regiment remainins to guard the Stores—as General Sullivan has been promised thoge Troops and I would not willingly afford the most distant ground for complaint. I would wish it to rejoin the Regiment if the Troops have not proceeded so far as to render it hazardous or impracticable if other circumstances will permit it to be done. This is my wish, however, if a tolerable number of the late drafts have joined the Regiments with General Clinton, I shall have no great objection to the Companys remaining, tho the troops should not be out of reach if an equal number of Militia cannot be easily procured to answer the purposes for which it was left. I will leave the matter with you being perfectly convinced that you will do in it as circumstances shall require, and request that you will inform the Officer commanding the Company of the line of conduct he is to pursue.

The situation of the Enemy on the North River is much the same as it was when I wrote you on the 9.

We have had for some days past very flattering reports thro various channels of the success of our Arms at the Southward and I am very anxious for their confirmation. Mr. Jay in a Letter of the 7th transmitted me the following which he said was all the intelligence Congress had received from South Carolina, except what you will have seen before in the Newspapers—

"A person &c insert it—

If this account should prove true it will be most interesting—and if it should not or something like it—there has been a strange concurrence of lies

I have the Honor to be
with great attachment & respect
Dr. Sir Yr Most Obed Servt
G. WASHINGTON

P.S. You will be pleased to have the inclosed delivered to the Officer commanding the Company belonging to Gansevoort's Regiment. I have informed him that he will receive orders from you as to his joining his Regiment or remaining at Albany.

To Genl. Schuyler

Washington to Sullivan About the Campaign

Head Quarters New Windsor July 5 1779

Sir

Since mine to you of the 3d I have received yours of the 29th of June—I am glad to find that your second arrival of stores and provisions was in better condition that the first—I hope what you still expect may prove equally good—

I have received a letter from General Clinton of the 30th of June by which I find that his taking so large a quantity of provisions and stores with him was in obedience to your orders—I cannot but be extremely apprehensive that this party will be exposed to the most imminent hazard from so great an incumbrance of stores, especially under the intelligence you communicate of the enemy's assembling at Chonowactatine. We may expect their whole force will be bent against General Clinton—Notwithstanding my apprehensions I would not undertake to interfere with your arrangements but shall leave him to act as you direct; at the same time I must entreat you to consider whether he may not still disembarrass himself of a part of his stores. This will depend materially on your own immediate prospects of supply if they appear sufficient, I am of opinion it will be advisable for General Clinton to send back to Conajoharie all his provisions & stores more than are necessary for his subsistance & security 'till he joins you. In this case I would endeavour to prevail upon the Governor to have some Militia from that part of the Country ordered out to take charge of the stores at Conojoharie and convey them to a place of safety—If you from a full consideration of circumstances are of the same opinion you will give directions accordingly and inform me of them. This measure besides the good effect of disencumbering the detachment will serve to puzzle the enemy and render our real designs equivocal.

I approve of your intention of reaching Tioga before General Clinton moves from Otsego. Would it be prudent to carry the

idea still further by moving on to meet him towards Owego or Chenango as far as it can be done with safety? This would certainly tend to distract and awe the Indians and facilitate your junction. But it is a matter I only mean to suggest for your consideration.

I observed your force by a late return including Clintons amounted to 3,500 men fit for duty—Clinton's at the time his return was made to you (though his numbers have augmented since) were probably 1000—This leaves you 2500—You say you shall only be able to march fifteen hundred men from Wyoming—a thousand therefore must be employed as Garrisons escorts &c. This number is far more considerable than I can conceive necessary. Your posts of communication need not be numerous nor large; it appears to me that less than one third of the number would suffice for them and for contingent services—It is essential that your operating force should be as great as possible—In order that it may be the less requisite to leave a large part of your troops to guard your communication I have again written to the Council of Pennsylvania urging the necessity of sending you a reinforcement of five or six hundred men of some sort or other to be employed in this way and enable you to keep your Continental force in a body. These may serve to strengthen the garrison you leave behind and protects your convoys. I hope the application may succeed, it shall be pressing and pointed—

I send you some intelligence lately received from Canada. It is from a friend there who covers himself by assuming the Stile of a Tory. From this account it appears that 700 men have been sent from Canada to reinforce the savages—

Yrs
G W

To Genl. Sullivan

Head Quarters West
Point August
1st 1779

Dr. Sir.

Brandt at the head of a party of Indians said to have amounted to eighty or ninety men has lately made an incursion into the Minisinks and cut off a party of fifty or sixty of our Militia. It is reported, that Brandt himself was either killed or wounded in the action—By a fellow, belonging to this party, who has fallen into our hands, as he pretends voluntarily (but is suspected to have mistaken his way) I am informed that the party came from Chemung in quest of provisions of which the savages are in great want. He says their deficiency in this respect is so great, that they are obliged to keep themselves in a dispersed state; and when they collect will not be able to remain long together. He gives the following account of their strength movements and designs—That

the whole force they will be able to assemble will not exceed fifteen hundred fighting men whites and Indians which they themselves conceive will be equal to double the no. of our men in y^e^ w^ds.^ That Butler with a party of both sorts was at Conasadago in number, 3 or 400—That at Chemung and the adjucent towns were two or three hundred warriors—That Chemung was appointed as the place of rendesvous or in the neighbourhood where the Indians intended to give you battle, after which if they were unsuccessful they intended to retire towards Niagara, harassing your march as much as possible with small parties and by ambuscades—That some of the towns had sent off their old men and women—others more confident and discredeting that there was an army coming against them had still kept them at home—That no reinforcement had yet come from Canada; but that Brandt who was lately arrived from thence assured the indians there was one coming after him—That the principal strength of the Indians is in the Genesee towns—

You will give as much credit to this account as you think proper and in proportion to its conformity to your other intelligence. The informant is a deserter from Cortlands regiment who says he was carried off by force to the Indians and took the present opportunity of leaving them. He appears not to be destitute of shrewdness and as his apprehensions were pretty strong I am inclined to think as far as his knowledge extended he was sincere—

* * *

I am with great regard D Sir Y^r^, Obed Sevt

G. W.

Sullivan to Washington on Progress of the Campaign

Teago—August 15^th^ 1779

Dr Genl.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I arrived at this place with the army on the 11th inst. without any loss and without having received the least opposition from the enemy—all the accounts recvd. from your Excy. as well as from every other quarter seemed to agree that the enemy were collecting their whole force at Chemung in order to give us battle. I thought if these accounts were true, it would not be prudent to detach a large part of my force to meet Genl. Clinton and expose the residue to the collective force of the enemy. I therefore detached Capn Cummings of Col Shreeves' regt. with eight active men to reconnoitre Chemung. He arrived before the Town on the morning of the 12th. and took post on a mountain wch overlooked the Town, where he remained till 12 o'clock. He returned into camp late in the afternoon of the same day, and reported that he saw both white people and Indians busily employed, but he could not ascertain whether they were preparing for action or for evacuating

the place. Immediately upon his return an attack was agreed on and the troops moved at nine o'clock the same evening. Genl Hand with his light corps moved in front to attack on the north of the Town. Gen. Poor was to attack on the east side—Two regiments were detached across the Cayuga to prevent the enemy escaping across the river—I moved on in the main road towards the lower end of the Town for the purpose of supporting the attacking parties, and to prevent escapes in that quarter, having with me Jersey troops, some volunteers, and some of the artillery corps with a cohorn carried by hand on a machine mounted by Col. Proctor. The attack was to begin on all sides at day break. Though the morning was exceedingly foggy, our troops all arrived at their respective posts soon after day break and moved so as nearly to meet at the same time in the Town; but we found the Town had been evacuated the evening before. General Hand with the light troops moved up on the east of the Cayuga branch about a mile beyond the Town, where he found the place of the enemy's encampment, the night of the 13th. We followed them up the road about half a mile, when a party of about thirty rose and fired upon his advanced party; The general with his troops immediately moved up to charge them, upon which they fled with precipitation—They were pursued a little further up, but there appearing no prospect of overtaking them, the troops returned and destroyed the Town together with all their fields of corn and whatever else was found to destroy. A small party fired upon our people when destroying their corn, but was soon forced to fly. We had in the course of the day seven men killed and thirteen wounded, among which was Capn Carberry of Col. Hubley's Rgt. and Lt. Huston of the same regiment. Capt. Carberry is dangerously wounded, I hope not mortally—Mr. Huston's arm was broken by a ball; all the others are wounded very slightly except Mr. Franklin (one of our guides) who is badly wounded tho' said not to be dangerous. Most of the injury was sustained by Genl. Hands advanced guard and from one fire only, as our troops did not give them opportunity to make a second.—The whole loss was from Gen: Hand except one killed and four wounded of Gen: Poors, and two wounded of the Jersey brigade. I cannot say what loss the enemy sustained, but it must have been inconsiderable, as their flight was too sudden to admit of their receiving much injury. Some of their hats were found, and one had a ball through the crown but no dead body was found, which induces me to believe that none of them were killed out right. I am much surprised that they did not make a greater opposition in defence of their Town; it was most beautifully situated, contained a chappel with between thirty and fourty other houses, many of them very large, and tolerably well finished. There were fields of corn, the most extensive that ever I saw with great quantities of potatoes pumpkins, squashes, and in short every other thing which any farmer could

produce—the whole of which was destroyed root and branch. Our troops having completed the business returned the same evening to camp, having performed a march of at least fourty miles in less than twenty four hours, besides going through the fatigue of destroying those extensive fields the whole of which they performed with the greatest chearfulness. The whole of their conduct was exceedingly pleasing, and if any fault was discovered, it was their too great eagerness to rush upon the enemy at first sight. I am happy in assuring your Excellency that I am well convinced, no force that this country can produce, can stand before troops so determined as this army. I forgot to mention to your Excellency in my last letter, that the enemy had erected a new Town near Scheshequiesing containing twenty two houses, which they abandoned on the approach of our army. Col Proctor who had charge of the fleet put on shore & burnt it. I am now sending off a strong body to meet gen: Clinton, when he joins will proceed without loss of time to execute the residue of my orders.

Jno. Sullivan

To His Excy Gen: Washington

Another version of the Battle of Newtown is given in this letter which in some manner fell into the hands of the British and is here printed for the first time.

Teoga Sept. 6th 1779

Dr. Stagg

In my former letter I gave you an account of the difficulties we encountered in making a road through the great Swamp, in my last I gave you a History of our march from Wyoming to this place, also of the Shimong affair—I was amazingly surprized to see a letter yesterday wrote by you to Taulman, I being acquainted with the writing and seeing a large Packet, I was assur'd there was a Letter enclosed for me, in confidence of which I broke it open, but to my great mortification found, I was not only disappointed of a Letter but in the close of your Letter you hoped I had not forgot you & beg'd he would continue his correspondence—If I thought you received no letters from me since I saw you at Head Quarters, I would pardon it, but as I have wrote you three since that time, two of which I think were sent by the same Person, who carried Taulmans—

You must Pardon if I think you have rather suffered our Friendship to cool—I shall however, for fear my letters might have miscarried, once more send you a scroll from this Saturday night—I shall now give you an account of this part of the World: On the 26th of August the army marched from this Post (I having the misfortune to be left in Garrison at this Place) on acct of amunition waggons they moved on exceeding slow. On the Evening of the 28th / the Army then lying at Shimong / Gen[er]al Sullivan received Intelligence, that a Body of about eight hundred Tories &

Indians had collected near Newtown, about eight miles from Shimong to all appearance ready to give him Battle. Our army marched early in the morning of the 29th from Shimong, they had but just got under way, before a skirmishing ensued, between our Riflemen & some scattering Indians, which continued without much loss on our side untill our Troops arrived near Newton, where the Enemy had taken Post & thrown up some works of near a mile in length on a strong commanding ground, having their right Flank secured by the River Teoga, & their left by a very large morass: their works were artfully covered with green bushes, the better to deceive our Troops; one of our Riflemen or Indians having discovered it, at some small distance, made report therof to the General, who made the following Disposition of his Troops —Genl. Clinton's and Genl. Poor's Brigades were ordered to file off to the Enemys left, Genl Hands Brigade filed off to the Enemys right, and almost on the Bank of the Teoga, where he would have forced them, had they given him an opportunity; The artillery & Riflemen were drawn up in front to Amuse them with long shot untill Clinton & Poor turned their Rear (Gen[era]l Maxwells Brigade was the Corps de Reserve) unfortunately our Cannon drove them from their works—The Enemy soon saw the necessity of Retreat & began it before our Troops had gained their rear—Genl Poors Brigade however fell in with, & totally routed them. Col Dearborns Regt sustained the severest shock; Major Fitzcomb & Capt Clays were wounded, the Major thro[ugh] the Body & in the arm and the Capt[n] thro[ugh] the Body just above the navel; they are both in a fair way of recovery—Lieut. McColly of Colo. Colleys Regimt. was wounded in the leg, which was so much fractured that he died next morning. Roe had three men Killed & thirty four wounded, two of whom have since died of their wounds at this place.

The Enemy's loss it is almost impossible to ascertain as they were employed (a number of them) during the Action, in carrying off their killed & wounded—They however left 19 dead on the Field that were immediately found, & I am informed they the following day found several covered with Bushes—They also took two Prisoners—a white and a Negro, who also informed the Gen[era]l they were 800 strong commanded by Butler, Brant, young Butler and McDonald etc. He further assured the General they were employed the whole action in taking off their killed & wounded up the Teoga. Our army will be two or three days in destroying the Corn, beans, Pease, Potatoes &c. of which there is so great a quantity, that it can scarcely be credited. Fields for miles round are full of it, in fine, it was their Grand Magazine.

On account of the scarcity of Provisions & the great plenty of vegetables, the army were put upon Half allowance, which they chearfully submitted to; being anxious to extirpate those Hell-Hounds from off the face of the Earth.

Signed by An American Soldier

Washington to Sullivan

Hd Qrs. West Point 15 Sept 1779

Dr Sir

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 30th of August, and congratulate you sincerely on the success of the engagement at Newtown. I immediately transmitted your account to Congress.

The advantages we have already gained over the Indians in the destruction of so many of their settlements is very flattering to the expedition. But to make it as conclusive as the state of your provisions and the safety of your army will countenance I would mention two points which I may not have sufficiently expressed in my general instructions or if I have which I wish to repeat.— The one is the necessity of pushing the Indians to the greatest practicable distance from their own settlements and our frontiers, to the throwing them wholly on the British enemy. The other is the making the destruction of their settlements so final and complete as to put it out of their power to derive the smallest succour from them in case they should ever attempt to return this season.

I am Dr Sir
Your
G. W.

To Gen. Sullivan

XI

Summary and Results

From this brief survey of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign it is apparent that the project developed from the conditions of the years 1777, 1778 and 1779. The various attacks made on the frontier communities of New York and Pennsylvania by the Indians and Tories was the immediate occasion for its organization.

It was carefully planned by Washington himself after a thorough inquiry concerning the conditions under which it would have to be conducted to take place first in 1778 westward from the Mohawk River. When that arrangement proved to be impracticable, the movement was changed to start from the Susquehanna River in 1779. It is doubtful whether Washington took so long a time to perfect the plans for any other campaign in the whole Revolutionary War.

The selection of a leader of the campaign was made by Washington with an adroit knowledge of the men available. He had good

reason to believe that General Gates would refuse the offer, and yet by giving him a chance to decline it, the criticism of Gates and his powerful friends was checked. General Sullivan possessed the youth, the energy, the leadership, the adaptability and the popularity to make the enterprise a success.

The choice of General James Clinton of New York as commander of one of the cooperating armies, and in a sense as second in command of the campaign, pleased the people of the State in which the most difficult military operations lay. The assignment of Generals Hand, Maxwell and Poor to brigade commands, and the choice of certain military units from New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania were made only after a frank consultation with General Sullivan. The outcome proved the wisdom of this policy.

Washington wished to hurry up the drive into the territory of the Six Nations before the enemy had time to receive troops and supplies from the St. Lawrence. Sullivan, on the other hand, was determined to have sufficient stores and equipment to last him at least three months. Consequently he spent weeks at Wyoming gathering food supplies, clothing, shoes and other articles, and had Clinton do the same in the Mohawk Valley. This necessitated a delay that was severely criticised by Congress and Washington. In a red-hot letter to Congress and in others to Sullivan and Clinton, Washington condemned the policy and denounced the persons responsible for the delay. Indeed it took considerable even-tempered explanation to reconcile him. More than three months elapsed after Sullivan's appointment before the armies of Sullivan and Clinton met at Tioga and were ready for the main advance. As things turned out, it seems now after a lapse of a century and a half, that on the question of packhorses, cattle, boats and supplies Sullivan was in the right. The delay enabled his men to depend for food upon Indian corn, vegetables and fruit. No material help was sent by the British to Butler and Brant and hence Washington's fears on that score proved groundless, but the conditions might have been changed sufficiently to render the campaign much more difficult. Washington's sense of caution was usually sound.

That Colonel John Butler who was in command of the Indians and Tories knew of the campaign early in the spring of 1779 is clearly shown by his correspondence. Furthermore every im-

portant move made by Van Schaick, Brodhead, Clinton and Sullivan was quickly reported to him by his scouts and messengers. Indeed his system of gaining information was remarkably speedy and well-organized. He also kept Colonel Bolton at Niagara and General Haldimand at Quebec informed of what was transpiring. Knowing that his forces could not prevent the invasion, he made one appeal after another for trained troops, and plainly told his superiors what would be the outcome if reinforcements were not sent. His stores and food supplies were low and affected the morale of both whites and Indians. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that he made no stand after the Battle of Newtown. His retreat without loss of life or capture of man, woman or child was on the whole masterful.

There has been considerable disparity in the older accounts of the military forces on each side. The American troops engaged in the campaign may be grouped as follows:

On the Van Schaick expedition	558
On the Brodhead expedition	605
On Clinton's expedition	1500
Under Sullivan from Wyoming	2500
Total	5163

The data available is insufficient to make an estimate that is absolutely accurate. Some of Van Schaick's men were with Clinton and hence are counted twice, but just how many one cannot say. Besides the officers and soldiers there were with Sullivan boatmen, 250 packhorse drivers, Indian scouts, and a number of women. Taking all lists into account it may be said that the total force employed in the whole campaign was around 5000 and that the combined armies of Sullivan and Clinton at Tioga did not exceed 4000. After Tioga this force was reduced by detachments left in forts and by sickness, injuries and death until possibly not more than 3000 effective men reached Genesee Castle.

It is still more difficult to estimate the number of Indians, Loyalists and British. General Sullivan in his official report said that "from the opinion of General Poor and others" he supposed the enemy in the Battle of Newtown numbered 1500. The two men captured on the evening of the battle gave the total number as 700 or 800. It seems fairly certain that Colonel John Butler's tatement that his forces "did not exceed 600 men" was too low.

There were from 200 to 250 Loyalist Rangers, 15 British regulars and about 500 Indians in the engagement. The Loyalists and British did not vary greatly during the campaign, but the Indians were coming and going and hence an unstable factor. There is no evidence to show that at any time those assembled exceeded the 1000 which Brant boasted he had at Kendaia.

The main army directly under General Sullivan consisted of:

The First Brigade under General William Maxwell composed of:

The First New Jersey Regiment with Matthias Ogden, Colonel.

The Second New Jersey Regiment with Israel Shreve, Colonel.

The Third New Jersey Regiment with Elias Dayton, Colonel.

Spencer's New Jersey Regiment with Oliver Spencer, Colonel.

Cavalry Detachment of Col. E. Sheldon's Regiment.

The Second Brigade under General Enoch Poor included:

The First New Hampshire Regiment, Joseph Cilly, Colonel.

The Second New Hampshire Regiment, George Reid, Lieut. Colonel.

The Third New Hampshire Regiment, Henry Dearborn, Lieut. Colonel.

The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment (Alden's), Daniel Whiting, Major.

The Third Brigade commanded by General Edward Hand comprised:

The Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, William Butler, Lieut. Colonel.

The Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Adam Hubley, Lieut. Colonel.

The Pennsylvania German Battalion, Daniel Burchart, Major.

The Pennsylvania Artillery Regiment, Thomas Proctor, Colonel.

Morgan's Riflemen, James Parr, Major.

The Independent Rifle Company, Anthony Selin, Captain.

The Wyoming Militia, John Franklin, Captain.

The Independent Wyoming Company, Simon Spaulding, Captain.

The Fourth Brigade under General James Clinton embraced:
- The Second New York Regiment, Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel.
- The Third New York Regiment, Peter Gansevoort, Colonel.
- The Fourth New York Regiment, Frederick Weissenfels, Lieut. Colonel.
- The Fifth New York Regiment, Lewis Duboys, Colonel.
- New York Artillery Detachment (Lamb's), Isaiah Wool, Captain.
- New York Volunteers, John Harper, Captain.

In the Expedition led by Colonel Goose Van Schaick were:
- The First New York Regiment, 3 companies.
- Lamb's Second Regiment New York Artillery, Thomas Machin, Captain
- The Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Erkuries Beatty, Lieutenant. William Gray, Captain.
- The Third New York Regiment, Leonard Bleeker, Captain.
- The Second New York Regiment, Charles Graham, Captain.

In the Expedition led by Colonel Daniel Brodhead were:
- The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment.
- Pennsylvania Militia and Volunteers.
- Delaware Indians.

The results of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign were both immediate and remote. They may be summarized as follows:

1. The destruction of the Indian settlements drove the Indians out of Central and Western New York and for a time at least gave security and protection to the frontier settlements in New York and Pennsylvania.

2. In the end the punishment of the Indians made them more revengeful as is shown by their exploits in the years 1780, 1781.

3. The power of the Tories was curbed and their enlistment in the British service ceased to be so numerous during the rest of the war.

4. The supplies of corn, dried beans, and dried vegetables which had gone to the British storehouses were cut off. The English now were forced to feed and clothe the hostile Indian nations and thus their scanty supplies were placed in jeopardy.

5. A claim was staked out for the acquisition of western lands south of the Great Lakes when the time came to make a treaty of peace. Had it not been for this conquest the line between Canada

and the United States today might run from the St. Lawrence southwestward across New York and Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh, Pa. In short the destiny of the interior of the North American Continent was decided by this campaign together with that of George Rogers Clark farther to the westward.

6. Thus an opening was made for the influx of thousands upon thousands of settlers from the eastern states into Western New York and this commonwealth was given the opportunity to develop into the Empire State.

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign was of greater geographic extent than is commonly believed. Troops were assembled for it from New England, Eastern New York, the Mohawk Valley, New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania, and the region about Fort Pitt on the Ohio River. The main movements were from the Mohawk to Syracuse, N. Y.; from Canajoharie, N. Y. to Athens, Pa.; from Easton, Pa. to the Genesee Country; and from Pittsburgh, Pa. to West Salamanca, N. Y. The objectives included Fort Oswego and Fort Niagara but those British strongholds were not taken. Little was known about much of the territory traversed in the western parts of New York and Pennsylvania, and such maps as existed were of little military use. One of the results of the campaign was to increase geographic knowledge. Routes were surveyed and accurate maps were prepared which later proved to be of much service. At the same time many new facts about the streams, lakes, mountains, soil, vegetation, animals and insects were noted and reported. Additional information about the Iroquois was obtained and recorded. Note was taken of the fertile soil of Western New York which after the Revolution became a factor in the movement of the population westward.

The high degree of civilization found among the Indians astonished the soldiers and led to comments in all the journals. Their mode of life approximated that found among the whites on the frontier. Many of their houses were built of hewn logs framed together with tools and having doors, windows with glass, and wooden floors. Some of the houses were two stories high, and a few were painted. The Indians had extensive orchards of peach, plum and apple trees. In addition to their wide cornfields they cultivated vegetable gardens in which they grew potatoes, beets, cabbage, squashes, pumpkins, turnips, beans, onions, melons, etc. They used the horse and ox, and had cows, hogs and chickens.

General Sullivan reported that he destroyed forty Indian villages. These consisted of hamlets of a few houses and larger settlements some of them with several hundred houses. He estimated that "at a moderate computation" 160,000 bushels of corn were also destroyed. In addition to this devastation it must be remembered that Colonel Van Schaick, General James Clinton and Colonel Brodhead also destroyed villages, corn and vegetables, and carried away with them considerable plunder. So completely were the houses and farms of the Indians damaged that comparatively few of them returned to their former places of residence. Thus Washington's orders were carried out to the letter. The Indians were punished severely and there is some ground for the change of cruelty, for the Indian women and children suffered from enforced flights and from hunger. Colonel Van Schaick captured a number of Onondagas; and General Sullivan seized a few Loyalists and several Indian squaws. There is no evidence of official mistreatment of women and children, however, although in one instance a young squaw was found murdered, and in another the inference may be drawn that without orders some soldiers burned an Indian woman in a house. There are records of the scalping of dead Indian warriors by the white soldiers and after the battle of Newtown a fallen foe was skinned and the skin used to make a pair of boots.

On the other hand there are several beautiful examples of humanitarianism. At Catherines Town an aged squaw was found who expected to be killed and hence showed great fright. She was kindly treated, given food, and provided with a house for shelter. On the return of the army, she was again found but this time in smiles, and once more the soldiers filled her larder from their scanty supplies. In sharp contrast to these deeds was the horrible treatment of Boyd and Parker and the slaying and scalping on every occasion of soldiers who ventured away from the protection of the camp. War is seldom an edifying institution and the details of this military enterprise are not an exception to the general rule.

A. C. Flick

THE ST. LAWRENCE TEN TOWNS[1]

History repeats itself. To a group of historians that axiom needs no elucidation. Historians also repeat themselves; and some historians repeat other historians,—another axiom. A lady in New York who had had several children to buy toys for asked Schwartz the great toy dealer, "Don't you ever have any new toys, Mr. Schwartz?" "No, madam," said he, "New children." I have asked of several of my acquaintances in Potsdam what they knew of the St. Lawrence Ten Towns, and the unanimous answer was, "Never heard of them." Thus assured of an audience of new children I will tell the old story of the Ten Towns.

On the 5th of May 1786 or by an other authority by Chapter 60 of the Laws of 1784 (Homer was born in nine cities, why shouldn't a law have two dates?), the legislature of the State of New York, in session in New York City, which was the capital until 1797, created a board of Land Commissioners and authorized them to dispose of the unsold land within the state. This board of land commissioners consisted of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Treasurer and the Auditor.

On the 25th of May 1787 the board directed the surveyor general to lay down on a map two ranges of townships, each range to contain five townships adjoining each other and one of said ranges to be bounded on the River St. Lawrence. These ten townships were to lie between two parallel lines twenty miles long fifty miles apart, the more easterly one starting at a point on the south shore of the river opposite the head of Long Sault Island. The westerly one touches the river near the present Oak Point. Each township was to contain 64,000 acres or 100 square miles, and to be as nearly square as possible. They received numbers in boustrophedonic order from one to ten.

On the 7th of June 1787, these ten townships were advertised for sale; the sale took place in the City of New York, on July 10, at the Coffee House. Alexander Macomb became the owner of practically all the St. Lawrence Ten Towns. On the 10th of September of the same year the commissioners met again and passed the following resolution: "That township number one

[1]Paper read at the annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, on its excursion to Canton, September 28, 1928.

shall be called the township of Louis-Ville; township number two shall be called the township of Stockholm; township number three shall be called the township of Potsdam; township number four shall be called the township of Madrid; township number five shall be called the township of Lisbon; township number six shall be called the township of Canton; township number seven shall be called the township of DeKalb; township number eight shall be called the township of Oswegatchie; township number nine shall be called the township of Hague; township number ten shall be called the township of Cambray." Thus arose the St. Lawrence Ten Towns, also sometimes called, from their proximity to Canada, the Canadian Ten Towns.

Of the many topics which may be discussed relating to the ten towns, I am presenting today three to which I wish to direct your attention. The first is their names and the men who gave them those names. The members of the board of land commissioners who were most frequent in their attendance were George Clinton, governor, Lewis A. Scott, secretary of state, Gerard Bancker, treasurer, Peter T. Curtenius, auditor, and Egbert Benson, attorney general.

George Clinton from his teens to the end of his life was active in military and civil affairs, a privateer, a member of the provincial assembly, a member of the Continental Congress, a brigadier general in charge of military operations along the Hudson. He was Governor of New York for 18 years and then Vice-President of the United States. He had a city residence in New York.

Lewis A. Scott, son of John Morin Scott, who was a member of the general committee, of the Provincial Congress, a brigadier general and a member of Congress, was a native of New York City.

Gerardus Bancker, also born in New York, was for twenty years the treasurer of the state. He was of a wealthy Dutch family, whose representatives had positions of responsibility in city and state during every generation of that remarkable century.

Colonel Peter J. Curtenius, state auditor, had been a member of the Committee of 100 elected in New York City and County in 1775 and was custodian of army stores at that time.

Egbert Benson, another New Yorker of Dutch ancestry, statesman, jurist and scholar, the most profound lawyer of the period, a graduate of Kings College, member of the Committee of Safety,

first attorney general of the state, member of Congress, judge of the Supreme Court of New York, first president of the New York Historical Society, an authority on Dutch history, an author and a friend of both Washington and Jay.

Emanating from such a group of men is it to be wondered that our list of ten towns names begins with Louis-Ville, when the so recent alliance with Louis XVI, King of France, and the presence of a French fleet and a French army at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown were vividly held in grateful remembrance?

Following Louis-Ville comes a group of four names of capital cities of Europe. Stockholm, Potsdam, Madrid and Lisbon; a series recalling Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Christopher Columbus and Prince Henry the Navigator, or if you like merely four European countries, a selection befitting the group of men who made it.

In 1784 direct commerce between New York and Canton, China, began. Even to such a shipping center as New York this new market was significant for the British had long had a practical monopoly of its trade. The same shippers undoubtedly brought wines from Lisbon and teas from Canton. The very name of Canton was a challenge to the English tea merchants if not to the English government itself.

John De Kalb, an Alsatian, brigadier in the French service, came to America with Lafayette, was made major-general, fought under Washington and Gates and gave his life on the field of battle. Very fitting was it that a board with so many military men upon it should honor their companion in arms when giving names to new townships. Six states have named counties De Kalb. Clinton and his associates honored themselves when they honored De Kalb.

Oswegatchie was an old name already in use. I have a copy of a drawing of the place made in 1765 by an English officer bearing the title Oswegatchie, as it was adopted by our board. Originally the word was the Indian name of the river and meant "black water" as Black Lake will recall.

With Hague and Cambray we come to an interesting problem. Why should the capital of the Netherlands be chosen as the ninth name separate from the four other capitals? If we may, after the manner of some historians, who based their hypotheses upon

suppositions that rest upon conjectures, let us assume that the ten names were selected each two by one of the five commissioners and that when it came Egbert Benson's turn his fondness for Dutch place names led him to propose Hague, and his fondness for history gave Cambray famous for its league and for its peace the closing place in the list of names for the St. Lawrence Ten Towns?

But the group of names is a worthy expression of the men who selected them and applied them to the new civic units that they had ordained.

My second topic (I said I had three, you remember) is the reason for the establishment of the ten towns. I think it was to fill in a gap in the defenses of the state. The battle of Oriskany had stopped St. Leger from advancing down the Mohawk Valley. The battle of Saratoga had defeated Burgoyne's advance along the Champlain route. But Sir John Johnson in 1776 had escaped from Dayton's army by a flight across the Adirondack wilderness adown the valley of the Racket. Could an invading army advance southward along the Indian trails that followed the Racket or the Oswegatchie? Washington asked this question. And should there be another war with Great Britain, would the followers of Sir John who had left farms and cattle near Johnstown in the Mohawk valley, and had been relocated by the British authorities at New Johnstown on the north shore of the St. Lawrence nearly opposite Oswegatchie,—would they form part of an army of invasion back through the wilderness already traversed by them?

Study then the location of the St. Lawrence Ten Towns. They stretch fifty miles along the south shore of the great river, and with their depth of twenty miles, they encompass the valleys of all the tributaries of the St. Lawrence that flow from the Adirondack plateau, the Oswegatchie, the Grasse, the Racket, and the St. Regis. Let these ten towns be peopled by a thrifty population, inured to the hardships of pioneer life, how hardly would an enemy make a way across their homelands!. Did the land commissioners have this in view? There is no record, save what is written in their enactments.

But in 1809 the Legislature played a card. It voted $3,000 to build an arsenal at Russell on the Grasse River south of Canton. The arsenal was built. Shortly afterward the St. Lawrence Turn-

pike began to appear and eventually formed a part of a through route from Lake Ontario at Sacketts Harbor through Russell to Plattsburg on Lake Champlain. Here then was a safe military route and arms and ammunition, well back from the open St. Lawrence route and behind the St. Lawrence Ten Towns. Another road led from the north through Russell across the wilderness to Lake George. I am not a military strategist but my first portrayal of the above arrangement to a returned soldier of the great war brought out a very prompt endorsement of the idea that the St. Lawrence Ten Towns formed an admirable first line of defense, and well supported. At any rate during the war of 1812 both ends of the long military road at Sacketts Harbor and at Plattsburg were the scenes of desperate fighting with victories by the United States forces, while Ogdensburg, Prescott and Brockville learned the lesson of war.

My third topic is to me the most interesting of the three. It is the personality of the men who became interested in the purchase and development of the St. Lawrence Ten Towns.

First of all there was Alexander Macomb. He lived in New York. He had been in the fur trade along with Astor. He bought practically all the Ten Towns in 1787, and in 1791 bought also over 3,680,000 acres in addition, Macomb's Great Purchase.

His family of six sons all served in the War of 1812, and of them Alexander Jr., as general of the American forces, was in command of the army that won the land victory at Plattsburg in 1814, a victory so important that the governor of the state, Daniel Tompkins, presented him a superb sword; the mayor of New York City, DeWitt Clinton, presented him the freedom of the city in a gold box, and his portrait was painted by Sully and placed in the gallery of distinguished men. The Macomb house in New York City became the residence of President Washington while New York was the capital of the United States. It stood a little below Trinity Church on Broadway.

The Ten Towns passed soon to other owners. The McVicars of New York bought largely of Louisville. John McVicar was an importer and ship owner. He was one of the incorporators of the Free School Society of the City of New York, and a member of the Friendly Club. He was prominent in the building of churches and in assisting clergymen. He also helped young deserving

business men so that it was a common remark in the time of panic, "Well, who is McVicar going to help today?" James, Henry, and Edward McVicar owned parts of Louisville, and Benjamin Raymond acted as their agent at one time.

The most notable of the men investing in Louisville was John Jay, the eminent statesman and jurist, delegate to the second Continental Congress, member of the Committee of One Hundred, member of the New York Provincial Congress, with Livingston and Morris chief authors of the Constitution of the state, its first chief-justice, president of Congress, ambassador to Spain, peace commissioner at Paris, chancellor of the University of the State of New York, secretary of foreign affairs, first chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. So numerous were the parts he took in American affairs that his biography is part of the history of the country. Of ancient Huguenot ancestry so eminent was he as an example of personal and judicial purity, that it was said of him "When the ermine of the judicial robe fell on John Jay it touched nothing less spotless than itself."

Other sharers in Louisville were William Edgar, son-in-law of David Van Horne, William Laight, a vestryman of Trinity Church and one of the founders of the Tontine Association, a member of the Committee of One Hundred, and John Lamb also of the Committee of One Hundred, one of the Sons of Liberty who enacted the New York Tea Party, wounded before Quebec when serving as captain under Montgomery, an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and a member of the first legislature of New York.

Stockholm was shared by Nicholas Low of an old New York family, related to the Gouverneurs, the Cuylers, and the Van Cortlandts; by John Delafield, the merchant, who helped endow Columbia College; by Elkanah Watson, that indefatigable promoter of public works, who was the first to perceive the feasibility of a canal across New York State, an active participant in Revolutionary affairs ranging from carrying powder to the army before Boston to carrying despatches to Benjamin Franklin in Paris; by Hezekiah B. Pierrepont whose family tree roots in the time of Charlemagne whose stone bridge near the castle of the family gave its name. William Onderdonk was also interested in Stockholm. It was at Henry Onderdonk's home that Washington

breakfasted one day in 1790 when he was studying Long Island for a possible location of the national capital. And the very honorable family of Gouverneurs of Huguenot ancestry was represented in the ownership of Stockholm by Richard Gouverneur. The Gouverneurs were related to the Morrises, the Kembles, the Ogdens, the Kartwrights and other eminent New York families.

Of Potsdam eighty square miles were purchased by a family group among which the name of Clarkson stands preeminent. Of the Clarksons, David, Levinus, Matthew and John Charlton appear in the early transactions. The Clarkson family was related to English royalty, and was long prominent in New York both in civil, religious and business affairs. In the reign of William and Mary, Matthew Clarkson was appointed secretary of the Province of New York. His great-grandson Matthew was a soldier in Washington's army and became aide-de-camp to General Lincoln whom he assisted at the battle of Yorktown. His portrait appears in the painting commemorating the surrender of Cornwallis which is in the Capitol at Washington. He was a regent of the University, a vestryman of Trinity Church. His daughter married a son of Chief Justice Jay. He was president of the Bank of New York, senior Vice-President of the American Bible Society. DeWitt Clinton, mayor of New York, said of him, "Whenever a charitable or public spirited institution was about to be established Clarkson's presence was considered essential. His sanction became a passport to public approbation." His name is associated with the foundation of nearly all the early meritorious societies of New York, whether intended for education, culture, relief or protection. Chancellor Kent said, "His portrait presents an elevation of moral grandeur 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame.' It belongs to Christianity alone to form and to animate such a character." The Clarksons have been represented in Potsdam by several generations, their residence extending from 1818 to the present time or over a hundred and ten years. It may be very happily said that their relations to Potsdam may be described in much the same language as were those of Matthew Clarkson to the city of New York. Henry J. Raymond, a relative of their agent, was founder of the *New York Times*.

Like Matthew Clarkson, Major Nicholas Fish was present at the surrender of Cornwallis, became president of the New York

Society of the Cincinnati and invested in Potsdam. He was a close friend of Alexander Hamilton.

Herman Le Roy came to Potsdam to live. His son attended St. Lawrence Academy. He was a merchant whose transactions reached every part of America; he held office under Washington; his daughter married Daniel Webster; he was one of the fifteen citizens of New York who owned a carriage.

Another investor in Potsdam was William Bayard, a large ship owner, president of the Chamber of Commerce, director of the Bank of America; to his country seat in Greenwich Street, Hamilton was taken after his duel with Burr.

The Van Hornes and the Clarksons were related by marriage, Garrit Van Horne having married a sister of General Matthew Clarkson. David M. Clarkson and Garrit Van Horne held the eighty square miles purchase in trust from 1802 to 1821 when it was distributed. Trinity Church, Potsdam, owes its origin to the generosity and religious feeling of these proprietors who gave the land and contributed largely to its erection. The church was modeled after old Trinity in New York and a contribution from its vestry completed the building fund.

Madrid was purchased by David A. Ogden, Thomas L. Ogden and Joshua Waddington. The Ogdens were law partners with Alexander Hamilton and the first settlement along the St. Lawrence in this township was originally called Hamilton in his honor. Now it is Waddington. Spafford's Gazetteer of 1813 says, "Madrid was owned by Joshua Waddington, D. A. and Thomas L. Ogden, men (say the inhabitants) of benevolent dispositions, well calculated to settle a new country and who have used every possible means to promote the interests and welfare of the settlers." St. Paul's Church, Waddington, the first church in St. Lawrence County, was built at the expense of Trinity Church, New York, and David A. Ogden. Joshua Waddington was related to the Ogdens by marriage. David A. Ogden was county judge of St. Lawrence County, and one of our first congressmen.

Lisbon and Canton came into the possession of Stephen Van Rensselaer and Richard Harrison. Stephen Van Rensselaer was the last of the patroons and held many public offices, being successively member of assembly, of the senate, lieutenant-governor of New York, major-general of the militia, chancellor of the

University, president of the State Agricultural Society, canal commissioner, member of the State Constitutional Convention, Congressman and the founder of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy. The village of Rensselaer Falls also carries his name. Richard Harrison was one of the first appointees of President Washington being made U. S. attorney for the District of New York. He was a vestryman of Trinity Church and an earnest supporter of Columbia College. Like the Ogdens and the Clarksons the Harrisons came and occupied their purchase, and like the Ogdens and the Clarksons they built an Episcopal Church, at Morley in the town of Canton.

DeKalb passed by way of Ogden to Judge William Cooper of Cooperstown, father of the novelist, J. Fenimore Cooper. The family name remains in Coopers Falls.

Oswegatchie after being owned in part by Robert Morris and Col. S. Ogden became the property of David B. Ogden as the name of Ogdensburg bears witness. The Morrises and the Ogdens were associated in the ownership of Hague and Cambray also.

Robert Morris and Gouverneur Morris whose names we now find in Gouverneur and Morristown, played such important parts in national affairs that merely to enumerate them crowds the page. Gouverneur Morris was a member of the first Provincial Congress, member of the committee on conspiracy, of the committee to frame the constitution for the State, assistant commissioner of finance in the U. S., one of the framers of the national constitution, minister to France where he saved the life of Madame de Lafayette, elected U. S. senator from New York. While Robert Morris almost financed the Revolutionary army, established the bank of North America, was member of the Constitutional Convention, and as a merchant shipper sent, in 1784, the first American ship to Canton. When Morris's ship returned on the 19th of May 1785, it received a very different welcome from that accorded certain other tea bearing vessels in Boston and New York. Lewis Morris, half brother of Gouverneur, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Associated with the Morrises in Hague and Cambray were General Henry Knox of the artillery, a founder of the order of the Cincinnati, secretary of war under Washington, one of New York's principal citizens, John Delafield and John Ogden

Hoffman, the president of the Philological society, as well as a leading advocate of his day, attorney general of the state, judge of the Superior Court and Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order.

In conclusion—we find ourselves viewing first one thousand square miles of wilderness, of forests, rivers and wild game, lying next to a great boundary stream, facing the territory of a great powerful nation lately our foe. By legislative enactment this wilderness is transformed into the foundation for civic organizations. Three hundred miles away we see a city the capital of our state, the capital of the nation, the chief commercial center of the new world. Moved by patriotic impulses and seeking also investment for their capital, people of the city turn their attention to the new borderland. In a short time title deeds pass conveying practically all the thousand square miles to a group of New Yorkers, a group embracing men of wealth, of culture, of religious conviction, of state and national political importance. You have heard their names, you have been told of their world wide achievement, you have learned what they did toward the establishment of our homeland. With what more favorable beginning could a community be blest! And what an illuminating picture do we in turn receive of the character, the sterling worth, and sober purpose of the New York of that period.

Let us be thankful that the influx of settlers upon the new lands of the Ten Towns was influenced by the character of the men who promoted that settlement. For the new settlers were preeminently of the sturdy New England stock and this section of Northern New York now exhibits in character and purpose the effective blending of the best of New England and the best of New York.

CHARLES H. LEETE

NORTHERN NEW YORK'S EARLY CO-OPERATIVE UNION[1]

Between Potsdam and Norwood, just beyond the crossing of the state road and the railroad, the traveler, either by automobile or on the rails, will see, on the north side of the track, and on both sides of the highway, a succession of houses and barns, obviously of venerable age and of the same period and all bearing a general resemblance to each other. This crossing, known as Clark's crossing, is not unknown to fame, for the near-by barns are probably the only barns in Northern New York that have sheltered the animals, strange and curious, of a traveling menagerie, the result of a famous circus train wreck.

Long before the railroad came, however, were the lands of this neighborhood a subject of discussion and a center of interest, for here in our own Northern New York, more than 100 years ago, took place one of the earliest community experiments in the United States. Years before the Transcendentalists met at Brook Farm, where Dana and his associates again demonstrated the unsoundness of the idea, while Robert Owen was working out his plan for his colony at New Harmony in Indiana, some twenty families from Vermont here organized "The Union," and for three years sought to prove the possibilities of the social creed of all for one and one for all. Probably the Brook Farm colonists had never heard of the colony of Northern New York. Quite probably, William Bullard, the leader of the Union, knew of Robert Owen.

Little is known to-day of the actual workings of the Community. Its records have long since vanished, and its history can now be put together in only a fragmentary and incomplete way. Its history must be sought in the old and neglected burying-ground, still called the Union Cemetery, in the recollections of the descendants of the pioneers, in the pages of Hough, the great source of all historical knowledge of Northern New York, and best of all, perhaps, in a faded map of the Union community, now the prized possession of Professor C. N. Lanphere, of Potsdam, who married a descendant of one of the Union families.

[1]Paper read at the annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, at Watertown, on September 28, 1928.

In the tide of settlers coming from New England in the years following the opening of Northern New York, the years when Alexander Macomb was selling off his lands, when the Harisons and the Clarksons, among many others, were holders and sellers of vast acreages in St. Lawrence County—in this tide came William Bullard, from Vermont, to spy out the land. Not much is known of William Bullard, save that he represented a company of men in Vermont, who were looking for new homes in what the people of Plattsburg then termed the west. It is known, however, that Bullard had been a student of the community theory, that he had written a pamphlet in support of his ideas, and that he had brought a dozen or more families to his way of thinking. He came into Northern New York in his search for a suitable location for such a colony as he had in mind. The plan for this he had drawn up before he had left New England.

Like so many of his co-thinkers, both in England and America, William Bullard, was a follower of one of the contemplative trades. In other words, Bullard was a shoemaker. And in those days of hand made goods and infinite patience in the making, the shoemaker had time to think as he sewed and pegged. In England it has been noticed that many of the constructive thinkers have been weavers. So Bullard, fired as many men were at that time with the co-operative idea, thought out his plan and, unlike many of the men of the time, put it into execution. In the first place, there was to be no interference with either religious or political freedom. The new community was to be one of workers. All property was to be held in common and each person, man and woman, was to share equally in the proceeds according to the amount of labor invested. The land was to be held by Bullard in trust—evidence of the confidence his associates had in him. Accounts were to be kept with each individual of the investment and number of days' work performed. There was to be an annual meeting of stockholders in January, at which time a settlement was to be made with each. Such was the plan, not unlike other co-operative plans since the world began. It depended on human nature—a better human nature than experience teaches us can be found. Like its predecessors and its successors it was wrecked on the reef of individual self-interest, though it lived for three years.

Bullard first came into Northern New York in 1803. He decided on lands in Potsdam and went back to Vermont to form his

group. It took all of the summer of 1804 for the men, with what of equipment they had, to get to Potsdam. The way led across Lake Champlain and through the wilderness then and for several years later known as the "Chateaugay Wood." On November 28, 1804, William Bullard and his associates took up a tract of 2,427 acres about two miles north of what was later to become the village of Potsdam, at a total cost of $8,656.04.

Who were the associates of this enthusiast—enthusiasts and dreamers themselves, albeit hard-headed New Englanders, acquainted with the hardships of pioneer life, but still willing to leave their New England homes and take up life again in a new country. Their names were Joseph Buttolph, William, Thomas H. and Ammi Currier, John Burroughs, Joseph and Reuben Field, Nathan Howe, John McAllaster, Salmon and Elkanah Shaw, Manasseh Smith, Levi and David Wyman and Bela Willes. They came principally from Royalton, Vermont, and a history of that town speaks of the "exodus to Potsdam" in 1804. Their descendants live in Potsdam today. For over one hundred years the Burroughs and the Willes families lived on adjoining farms in peace and amity and it is only within a year or two that the line has been broken.

The associates at first did not formally organize. The tract they had decided upon contained parts of mile square sections 27, 28, 29, 37, 38 and 39. The land was contracted to Bullard, but farms were taken up individually. It speaks well for the men and women of the company that despite the hard work of the pioneer, when farming consisted largely in the clearing of land, they should after three years of experience decide to formally complete their organization. In May 1807, therefore, some of the original members having withdrawn and others having taken their places "The Union" was organized, its membership comprising William Bullard, John Burroughs, Manasseh Smith, Nathan Howe, Ammi Currier, Thomas Currier, Isaac Ellis, William Currier, Alba Durkee and John McAllaster. A constitution was adopted, a copy of which can no longer be found. William Bullard was chosen president and John Burroughs clerk. It was decided that the majority should rule. Bullard as president was also the school teacher. He lived in a log house located back from the main road in Mile Square 29. For three years his rule was successful.

Then the virus of self-interest began to creep in. The more industrious found that the less industrious were getting more than their share, despite the care with which the plan had been laid out. There were changes in membership and a lessening of attachment. It was the story repeated at Brook Farm in later years, and in some phase of the same form wherever co-operative plans on such a scale have been tried. In 1810 the Union agreed to dissolve. All the property was divided, the land was apportioned and conveyed from Bullard to individual holders, and the Unionists, now individualists, went on living side by side under the changed conditions. From the books of the land office it appears that apportionments to the members were made as follows:

Levi Wyman, 62.50 acres; Davis Wyman, 146; Salmon Shaw, 93.40; Elkanah Shaw, 121; Joseph Field, 72; Reuben Field, 76; John P. Buttolph, 116; John Chandler, 67.84; Noah Kincaid, 25.50.

William Bullard, 48.10; John Burroughs, 110.30; Menasseh Smith, 215; Nathan Howe, 138.75; Ammi Currier, 128.80; Thomas Currier, 116.75; William Currier, 129; John McAllaster, 98.50.

Rufus Delano, 38.75; M. and G. R. Sawyer, 101; Jesse Stowell, 125.88; Caleb Hough, 97.50; Orran Hough, 56.90; Biriah Hill, 50.25; Thomas Canfield, 89.55; Bela Willes, 106.30.

From the fact that all these transfers were made at the same time in the year 1810 it would seem that this list of names is a correct list of the "Unionists" at the time of dissolution.

There appear no transfers to Isaac Ellis and Alba Durkee. Yet both lived many years in the neighborhood, the Ellises across the line in Stockholm in the Ellis district. From the dates in the land book it seems that the final break-up occurred in the latter part of the year, for all of the transfers are recorded as of November or December. The Union was a large one. Would that we had an account of its final meeting.

It will be noted that the final transfers were from the land office which would indicate that Bullard himself never took legal title.

What kind of a man was Bullard. One of those queer geniuses who appear at times, here, there and everywhere. He was of an inventive turn of mind and made an alarm clock out of a pail of

water and a fire shovel. When a certain amount of water had dropped from the pail the fire shovel was released, and clattered to the hearth. He wore his leather shoemaker's apron to church on Sunday, as the badge of an honorable calling. He was visionary, as might be expected, and impractical, and his wife was long-suffering, but patient. It is believed that he died in Colton, New York, and it is tradition that he was buried in the cemetery at Hannawa Falls, but careful search has so far failed to confirm either.

Today the old farm house, of a bygone type, the Union school house in the Union district and the neglected cemetery, before referred to, tell the story of the Union. In that old cemetery, where grave stones have fallen down and grass and brambles hide inscriptions, many of the men and women who were faithful to an idea are buried. Ammi Currier is buried here, dying at the age of 87 years in 1853. Margaret, his wife, died in 1853 at the age of 87. Manasseh Smith, in 1842, died at the age of 65 years. Salmon Shaw lies in one corner of the cemetery, his years 73 and his decease occurring in 1861. John Burroughs, the secretary, and Mary, his wife, also lie here. John Burroughs was 89 years old when he died in 1853. Isaac Ellis lies in the Ellis neighborhood burying ground. Some of the Curriers emigrated to Ohio. It will be noticed that in the final settlement the share of land received by Bullard was by far the smallest of them all. Such is likely to be the fate of dreamers and enthusiasts. Yet men like that have made the world.

RICHARD C. ELLSWORTH

THE CHASSANIS OR CASTORLAND SETTLEMENT[1]

Anatole France said: "History is an Art and should be written with imagination." Some of our local historians have agreed with the noted French writer to such an extent that they have exercised their imagination at the expense of truth, so, if any statement I may make proves to be untrue, it is the fault of those who have preceded me. Efforts to found French colonies in the United States were begun as early as 1681, and continued at different times, in various localities, with indifferent success.

From the outbreak of the French Revolution, through the successive changes in France, many refugees sought safety in the United States, but the first direct measure taken for the actual settlement of the section of New York state embraced in Jefferson County was in 1792.

William Constable, born in Ireland in 1752, was brought to America by his father, Dr. John Constable, who later sent his son back to Dublin to be educated at Trinity College. On his return to America he became interested in land speculation. In 1791 he associated with Alexander Macomb and Daniel McCormick in the purchase, from the state of New York, of the great tract known as Macomb's purchase, estimated to contain four millions of acres, being one-tenth of the state of New York and comprising the whole of the present counties of Jefferson, Lewis, St. Lawrence and Franklin, with parts of Oswego and Herkimer. Immediately after the contract was made with the land office, Mr. Constable embarked for Europe to sell this land.

On August 31, 1792, William Constable, then in Paris, sold to Pierre Chassanis of that city 630,000 acres of land south of great tract No. 4 and between the Black River and a line near the 44 degrees north latitude. Chassanis in this purchase acted as agent for an association, organized under the laws of France, to be known as "The Company of New York." The purchasers immediately set to work to perfect a scheme of settlement, and in October 1792 issued a lengthy document setting forth their plans. Quoting from this document one paragraph reads: "Believing that the value of this vast domain would be enhanced by the activity of culti-

[1]Paper read at the annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, at Watertown, on September 28, 1928.

vation and settlement, the proprietors have united in attempting the formation of a family, in some way united by common interests and common wants." To maintain an essential unity of interest, the projectors proposed a division by lot, which should give each associate at once a clear title to fifty acres, and leave a like quantity to be divided at the end of seven years when the whole domain should have been enhanced in value by their common improvements. The price of one share was fixed at $152.38, upon the payment of which the subscriber received a certificate, to be exchanged for an actual deed to the property whenever the holder wished to receive the title in his own name.

The affairs of the company were to be managed by five commissioners, three living in Paris, and two residing upon the tract, who were to be chosen by an absolute majority, at a general assembly to be held in Paris at which each owner might vote in person or by proxy. Each share up to five was entitled to one vote, but no person could have more than five votes, whatever the number of shares he might possess. The ignorance of these Frenchmen as to the geography and climate of this country led to grave mistakes. Instead of looking upon the forest as a disadvantage, they were captivated with the idea of having their *chateaux* surrounded by magnificent trees. They expected to see improved highways and numerous boats on every stream.

Their plan of association states that "The land granted by the state of New York lies between the 43 and 44 degrees of latitude upon Lake Ontario, and 35 leagues from the city and port of Albany, where vessels land from Europe." It further says that "This tract presents in its fertility, all the wealth of agriculture; by the fine distribution of its waters, the facilities for an extended commerce; by its location in the immediate vicinity of a dense population, security to its inhabitants; and by the laws of a people independent and rich with their own capital, all the benefits of liberty without its drawbacks."

The prospectus issued in October had, in December, when Constable counted upon a part of the funds which the sale should have procured, failed to obtain purchasers, and Constable directed Col. Ward, his agent, to withdraw the lands from market. Nevertheless, upon the representation of Chassanis, Col. Ward consented to the sale in France of 2,000 shares, and he was assured

that 200,000 acres near Black River and extending to Lake Ontario would be reserved to these 2,000 shares.

Upon this basis the provisional receipts had been delivered to the purchasers, and to meet this new engagement, Constable, by a contract passed in London on April 12 and 13, 1793, had, according to all the forms of law, transferred to Chassanis, not only 200,000 acres, and five per cent over for roads and public objects, but also 10,000 acres to facilitate the bringing into market the 200,000 acres. In this instrument, Constable was bound to transmit to the company the indemnities granted by the state of New York in case of lands covered by water. He also recognized the payment in full of 25,000 pounds by Chassanis, for the lands above mentioned. On June 28, 1793, the second of the French Republic, the actual holders of provisional receipts convertible into shares of the Company of New York, met at the rooms of Citizen Chassanis, in Paris, and proceeded to organize the basis of their society, establish its rules, and deliberate upon all points relative to its division, survey, preparation for market and sale. Forty-one shareholders representing 1808 shares, attended this meeting. Among the very numerous articles embodied in the constitution unanimously agreed upon at this meeting was one stating that "The lands of the Company of New York shall henceforth be known under the name of Castor Land Company." Castor is French for beaver, and it was sometimes called Beaverland Company. Another article read: "The society, beginning today, June 28, 1793, shall continue twenty-one years from the first of July next. The company shall be managed by a director and four commissioners living in Paris, where the government of the society shall remain fixed. The director and commissioners shall be chosen from the company, and each must be the owner or holder of at least ten entire shares, and his powers shall cease if he becomes the owner of a less amount. The director once chosen, shall hold his office during the existence of the society, without the power of change, unless in a general assembly called for the purpose, and by a majority vote of two-thirds. The commissioners in Paris, shall be renewed seven times in the course of the society, namely, the first time three years from the first of July next, and at intervals of three years after, until the complete

revolution of twenty-one years which the society is to last. The commissioners in Paris shall receive no salary, but in recognition of the care which they may bestow upon the common concerns, there shall be given them an attendance fee for each special or general assembly where they may meet on the affairs of the company. This fee is fixed at two jetons of silver. They shall be made at the expense of the company, under the direction of the commissioners, who shall decide upon their form and design." These pieces have been erroneously called "Castorland half dollars." The design was made by one of the Duvivier brothers, eminent coin and medal artists of Paris, who became a shareholder in this company and drew 500 acres of land. On the obverse is represented the head of Cybele, a Latin legend reading, "French American Colony," and beneath this, "Castorland, 1796." The reverse shows a figure of Ceres, who has tapped a maple tree and inserted a faucet for drawing off sap at will. The grain and foliage surrounding this are not in keeping with the sugar season. The inscription on the reverse is a quotation from Virgil, which, with its context, reads, "Hail Saturnian Land, great Parent of Fruits, great Parent of Heroes!" The apostrophe thus addressed to Italy, was intended to apply to Castorland, a country situated in nearly the same latitude and, for aught these Parisians knew to the contrary, equally adapted to the vine and olive.

French writers published glowing accounts of the soil, climate, and resources of this country, one man being enthusiastic in his admiration of the sugar maple, which he foretold would yet supply Europe and America with sugar, extinguish African slavery by superseding the cultivating of the sugar cane, and introduce a new era of human happiness. An agent for the French colony at Gallipolis, Ohio, went to Paris just after the opening of the French Revolution, and in his attempt to secure emigrants gave exaggerated descriptions of the land, the soil, and the climate; "No taxes, no military service, no soldiers to live on the people, no wolves or foxes, no bears or tigers, the land on the shores of the Ohio River, in its waters enormous fish, on its banks majestic trees out of whose sides ran sugar, and bushes with berries yielding wax." It is evident that our sugar maple was a large factor in bringing French emigrants here.

Another article in the constitution of the "Castorland Company" says, "Two commissioners chosen from among the share-

holders shall regulate the affairs of the company in America, this number to be increased if there be occasion." Among the many duties assigned to the commissioners in America were the following, "To cause the erection of mills, shops, stores, and cottages, cutting and burning of wood, purchase implements, tools, provisions and animals, make arrangements and bargains with surveyors, artizans, workmen and day laborers employed for the labor of the lands and woods, to solicit of the government of New York the opening and maintenance, at its expense, of routes and canals of communication, and to cause to be made special roads from one district to another." "These commissioners shall be under the surveillance of those at Paris, and shall conform to the mandates and instructions given by the commissioners in Paris. The assembly confirms anew the nomination which was made in the session of June 19, the present month, of Simon Desjardines and Pierre Pharoux, as commissioners in America, the first as honorary only, and the second with the emolument heretofore fixed."

The duration of the society was fixed at 21 years from July 1, 1793, but provision was made for dissolving it at the end of seven or fourteen years if so decided by a majority of the holders of two shares present at a general assembly of the associated shareholders.

Desjardines and Pharoux, appointed in June 1793, as commissioners in America, lost no time in executing their mission. Leaving France July 7, 1793, they arrived in New York in just two months and proceeded to explore the tract and take possession in the name of the company. At Albany they met one of their countrymen, a political exile, Marc Isambart Brunel, since celebrated as the founder of the machine shops of the Royal Navy Yard at Portsmouth, the builder of magnificent railroad structures in England, and the engineer of the Thames tunnel. Brunel was but 24 years of age and was prepared for any adventure, and accepted with eagerness their offer to receive him into their company and appoint him their captain on this remote and difficult service. Pharoux was an eminent architect of Paris and an expert engineer. Desjardines, from what little we learn of his history, was an enterprising but visionary adventurer. It was natural that a cordial feeling should arise between these strangers in a foreign land. They were ignorant of the tract except that it lay somewhere between the Black River and 44 degrees north latitude, but

Brunel was proficient in the use of instruments and was just the man to follow a line of latitude through the woods. The three Frenchmen hired four natives of the country, making a party of seven men. They supplied themselves with every anticipated want for the journey, including tents, arms, ammunition, surveying instruments, and such provisions as might be easily carried. The route of these explorers probably led from the Mohawk across to Moose River, and down that stream to High Falls. Many years ago a silver spoon marked M. I. B. was found above Lyonsdale, which, doubtless, once belonged to Brunel.

Early in 1794, Desjardines and Pharoux petitioned for an act to allow Chassanis to hold lands in New York. They stated that from the political relations then existing, he was unable to change his residence, that he was well affected to the freedom and government of the country, and was desirous of promoting its welfare. They also asked for themselves the same benefit, and stated that they had determined upon permanent residence as the agents of Chassanis. The petitioners were, by an act of March 27, 1794, allowed the privilege asked, but not their principal, Chassanis.

Pharoux was soon after employed to survey a canal route from the Hudson to Lake Champlain, with Brunel, and in the course of the summer of 1794, began the survey of Castorland. In this surveying party were Charles C. Brodhead, John Cantine, Philip R. Freys, Pierre Pharoux and Benoni Newman. The extraordinary deviation of the river from its supposed course occasioned much complaint, as the river cut up their lands into several detached parcels, so they could only pass from one to another by trespassing upon their neighbors. Desjardines and Pharoux, in a letter of June 7, 1795, to Constable, insisted that the lines should be run with reference to the true and not the magnetic meridian, and that any deficiency should be made up from the south side of the river. Mr. Constable replied that he would do everything consistent with the rights of others and cheerfully yield in whatever affected himself only, but he could not alter the course of the river. The death of Pharoux in September 1795, cast a gloom over the colony and checked its growth, and its history during the first three years is nearly blank.

Of the death of Pharoux, Dr. Hough says, "The surveying party had crossed the Black River several times, the men and instruments

being ferried across. On one occasion when they approached the river, having journeyed through the woods without noting their route by the compass, they arrived at a part of the bank which they thought they recognized, and knew to be a safe place of passing. Making a raft of logs, they started from the bank and began to pole across. When in the midst of the current their poles failed to reach the bottom and, simultaneously with this discovery, the noise of the waters below them revealed the horrid fact that they had mistaken their ferrying place and were at the head, and rapidly approaching, the great falls of the river, the passing of which threatened all but certain death. Instantly Mr. Brodhead ordered every man who could swim to make for the shore, and he prepared to swim for his own life, but the piteous appeals of Mr. Pharoux, who could not swim, arrested him, and he determined to remain with him, to assist him if possible, in the awful passage of the falls. Hastily directing his men to grasp firmly to the logs of the raft, giving similar directions to Mr. Pharoux, he then laid himself down by the side of his friend. The raft passed the dreadful falls and was dashed to pieces. Mr. Pharoux with several of the whites and Indians was drowned, and Mr. Brodhead thrown into an eddy near the shore, whence he was drawn senseless by an Indian of the party. The body of this young man was afterwards found on a small island at the mouth of the river, to which his name was given. Mr. James D. Le Ray caused to be prepared a marble tablet to be inserted in the rocks here, with the following inscription: To the memory of Pierre Pharoux, this Island is Consecrated."

The first settlers came upon this tract in June 1794, cutting their way as they came from Fort Stanwix. It is believed that they mistook the High Falls for the Long Falls, and settled at the former, upon a tract scarcely wide enough for a garden, and remote from the great body of their lands. The managers in Paris prescribed minutely from their maps the divisions that were to be made and the roads that were to be opened, having no reference to the surface or the local difficulties that might be encountered. Mr. Vincent Le Ray, in writing to Dr. Hough from Paris, November 16, 1859, says: "I would hardly state such a fact, if a sample of this folly was not known in the country, where the traces of a road once opened, but of course never traveled, were

visible a few years ago in the south part of the tract, which among other obstacles was to cross an almost impassable precipice; but orders were imperative, and the road was made on both sides, leaving them to be connected when the thing became feasible." The road here mentioned was known as the "Old French Road" from the High Falls to Beaver River, and thence westward to the St. Lawrence.

In February 1797, Rodolphe Tillier, at that time acting as agent for Chassanis, in behalf of Chassanis, petitioned the legislature for a law giving confidence to their title, stating that the company had expended large sums in surveys, roads and other improvements, and were willing to do much more, but that they experienced embarrassment in the doubts that were entertained of the validity of their title by reason of the general law of alienism. He further asked some provision for authenticating instruments executed in Paris, to the end that they might be recorded in this state. The committee reported that the question of alienism belonged to the Federal government, and that the other request was too important to be settled at that late period of the session.

The road opened from Fort Stanwix terminated on the west side below the falls, and the river was crossed in small boats. Several extensive sales were made to Frenchmen of the better class, who had held property and titles in France before the revolution, and a settlement was begun near the High Falls, east of the river. Settled as they were, nine miles away from a part of their tract wide enough for a farm, history has only to record the speedy and utter failure of their scheme of colonization.

Two cities were planned by the Castorland Company, and 30,000 acres were set aside for this purpose to be divided as follows; 2000 acres for a city upon the great river in the interior, and 2000 acres for a second city on Lake Ontario. One city, Castorville, was laid out on the Beaver River, at a place now called Beaverton, opposite the railroad station now called Castorland. They laid out their other city, the lake port, which they named Basle, at what is now Dexter, below Watertown, and in 1795 they founded the village of Carthage. Gouverneur Morris succeeded Rodolphe Tillier as agent for the company and, in 1799, submitted a plan in which a person was to be appointed to take charge of the store, keep it supplied with goods needed by the colonists, at moderate

prices, and each year improve a farm of forty acres in the environs of Castorland, on the undivided lands.

A tract which had been sold to a Swiss company was to be put in their possession and efforts made to get actual settlers upon the lands. At a general assembly held May 14, 1798, the conveyance of 90,000 acres to James D. Le Ray was decreed. The first article of that deliberation read as follows: "The commissioners at Paris and the director are authorized to transfer to the name of Mr. Le Ray, citizen of the United States of America, all the real and personal estate of the company in the state of New York, in the name of citizen Chassanis, its director." This conveyance did not dispossess the company of its property, but was a measure required by the circumstances which had no other end than to consolidate the rights of the shareholders and their creditors as evidently appears in the next article. Art. 2. "The assembly charges the commissioners and the director to take all proper measures to the end that in this conveyance the rights of the company be preserved, and that they be maintained in the enjoyment and improvement of their actual possessions according to the mode established by the act of June 28, 1793."

The necessity for transferring the title to an American citizen arose from an act of Congress, passed July 7, 1798, by which French citizens were deprived of privileges previously enjoyed. In 1800, after contracting a debt of 300,000 livres, the company could only show one saw mill, 18 log houses and 82 acres of clearing as the fruit of this enormous expense. There were upon the tract 11 log houses and 130 acres cleared, besides what belonged to the company. Several roads had been made, but these were rendered impassable by the first gale of wind, and from want of population speedily relapsed into the state of nature. An extract from a letter from Nathan Ford to Gouverneur Morris in regard to the building of the Oswegatchie road in 1801, reads: "My contract is to cut out trees 18 inches and under, 16½ feet wide, cradle knolls, and side hills to be dug down, small crossways and small bridges over small runs to be made, and stumps to be cut so low as not to obstruct a wheel, and large trees to be girdled. For doing this I give 16 dollars per mile." Some difference in the cost of road building then and now, and some difference in the roads also. Pierre Chassanis died in Paris November 28, 1803.

The name of James D. Le Ray de Chaumont has been mentioned in connection with this company. He was not a refugee from France. He first came to America in 1785, remaining here five years in an effort to secure a settlement of his father's claims against the government for aid given during the American Revolution. During this stay here he became naturalized and married an American woman. He was a brother-in-law of Pierre Chassanis, and one of the original shareholders of the company. He was conjoined with Gouverneur Morris in the agency of Castorland, and subsequently became principal agent of the French proprietors, many of whose rights he purchased. He early became one of the commissioners at Paris and induced the company to order the sale of 12,000 acres to an American company of which he had the direction. James D. Le Ray played a larger part in the settlement of Jefferson County than any other man, and to him Northern New York is indebted for the greater part of its French population. For fifty years of his life he spent much time in America, and made many trips across the ocean in sailing vessels. When he came from France in 1816, his longest stay here, he was accompanied by his daughter and her husband, the Marquis Amadeé de Gouvello. With them came the Baroness Jenika de Feriet, a former maid of honor of Marie Antoinette. Madame de Feriet built a residence not far from the home of M. Le Ray, which she called "The Hermitage" and which she occupied until her return to France in 1842. Here she held a miniature court, entertaining the French exiles and many prominent Americans. Her father was a member of the government of Louis XVI, serving under M. Necker, director-general of finance. M. Necker was the father of Madame de Stäel, and both he and his daughter purchased land in Northern New York, but never visited it. A frequent guest at "The Hermitage" was Joseph Bonaparte, elder brother of Napoleon I who spent four summers in his various homes here. Gay scenes did these woodland homes in "Little France," as it was called, witness, when among Joseph Bonaparte's guests were his son-in-law, Charles Lucien Prince of Canino, his nephew, Napoleon François Lucien Charles Prince Murat, the Duke and Duchess of Oldenburg, Marshal Grouchy, Count Pierre François Reäl, chief Prefect of Police of the Empire, and his Secretary Professor Pigeon, the Duke of Vincennes, General Jean François Rolland,

and M. Paguerre who had been Secretary General under Lamartine, Ledru and Rollin.

All that remains in America of the family of James D. Le Ray is contained in a lonely little grave in the forest near the Le Ray mansion, the body of his grand-daughter, Clotilde de Gouvello, who died September 20, 1818, aged one year and three months. His great-grand-son, Charles Le Ray de Chaumont, Marquis de Saint Paul, died in Paris October 3, 1915, a childless widower, and with him the name became extinct. Many descendants of James D. Le Ray's daughter, Therese Le Ray, Marquise de Gouvello, are still living in France.

In 1802, the "Company of New York," having a debt of 360,000 livres to meet, sold 17,000 acres in Beaverland at $2.00 per acre, and might have sold the whole at fifty-two cents per acre, but the shareholders anticipated large dividends from enhancement of value by neighboring improvements, and would not sell. In 1856, upon the death of the head of an old French family, the heirs found the title papers of several shares in the "Compagnie of New York," authenticated by Chassanis and his colleagues, and wrote to the governor of New York for information as to how to come in possession of the estate, which they doubtless imagined had accumulated enormously by the lapse of time, allowing even a moderate percent of increase. In July 1814, the term fixed by the company for its existence expired, and a public sale was resolved upon to pay the debt of 561,766 livres owed to its Swiss creditors, who, as no one else offered to become purchasers, bid it in. Le Ray became the principal American agent of this company and acquired a large interest in it.

On April 12, 1793, Constable sold in London, with the consent of Chassanis who held a presumptive claim, a tract of 450,950 acres to Charles J. Michael de Wolf, of Antwerp, who published in Dutch a plan of settlement under a company of which he was to be president. Its affairs were to be managed by himself and four directors whose names were to be made known at the proper time. De Wolf soon sold to a company of large and small capitalists of Antwerp who organized "The Antwerp Company." In January 1800, Gouverneur Morris received a trust deed of half of this tract, and on the next day James D. Le Ray received a like deed for the other half. Morris and Le Ray exchanged releases August

15, 1802, and the former, June 15, 1809, conveyed 326 lots of 142,440 acres to Moss Kent who conveyed the same to Le Ray June 24, 1817. The operations of the "Antwerp Company," like those of its neighbor, were a failure, and Le Ray ultimately purchased most, if not all, of the rights of the individual shareholders in Europe. Not the slightest settlement had been undertaken by this company before Le Ray's connection with the title. Of the numerous French colonies started in America, none were a success. Many names illustrious in French history will be found among those of the exiles who found refuge in the United States. They were utterly unsuited to life in the wilderness, being gentlemen, small tradesmen, lawyers, and the like. They accomplished little of permanent value. One fault of the French settlers was their unwillingness to learn the language or conform to the customs of their neighbors, the American settlers. Another was the need of more and better working people.

Most of the French colonies located in various states of the Union lasted but a few years. In 1717, eight hundred emigrants for Louisiana began what was hoped to be a colony of at least six thousand whites, but in 1727, of this great colony only thirty needy Frenchmen remained. There was built at Cape Vincent, by the followers of Napoleon, a house which it was hoped might one day be occupied by the Emperor, if they were able to abduct him from St. Helena. At an earlier day the Royalist exiles living at Azilum, Pennsylvania, built a house intended for a hiding place for Marie Antoinette, but before it was completed she had followed her husband to the guillotine. This house was the largest log house ever built in America, and was called the "Queen's House," or "La Grande Maison." It was two stories high with a spacious attic. There were four stacks of chimneys, and eight fireplaces on each floor. The middle room was so large that, when in later year it was used as a kitchen, oxen drew the back logs right into the room. These French colonies were not communistic in the sense in which the word is used today.

The only real socialist, communistic colony was that of the Icarians at Nauvoo, Illinois, and later of Icaria, Iowa, and this was a failure like the rest. This colony was purely communistic, the members putting their possessions, even books and heirlooms, into the common fund. Furniture, tools and cooking utensils were

equally divided; tasks and hours of labor were evenly proportioned. Homes were separate, each family occupying its own house, but the colony school reared the children in common; all ate at the same table; individualism was treated as unworthy.

The French were not successful colonizers, but of the individual French settlers many have achieved success and their names are known through the work of their descendants, in art and science, in literature, in learned professions, indeed in every walk in life our citizens of French birth and descent have proved a valuable addition. Senator Lodge's *Century* article (September 1891) on "The Distribution of ability in the United States" gives a very high standard to the French including the Huguenot Protestant French who came during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to descendants of soldiers who came with Rochambeau, or refugees who fled here from France and from St. Domingo in 1792. He says that "The people of French blood exceed absolutely, in the ability produced, all other races represented in Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography, except the English and Scotch-Irish, and show a percentage in proportion to their total immigration, much higher than any other race."

Although many of the French refugees returned to their native land as soon as conditions there permitted, some remained, and in the names of our villages and village streets, and the inscriptions on head stones in some of our older cemeteries, we have much to remind us of the days when the North Country was French.

ALTA M. RALPH

OBITUARIES

Miss Emily Howland of Sherwood, N. Y., peacefully passed away on June 29, 1929, seven months after she had celebrated her 101st birthday. "An astonishingly long and unusually useful, kindly, gentle and Christian life had ended." Her fame as a humanitarian, educator, pioneer suffrage leader, worker for temperance, and latterly for world peace, extended far.

Emily Howland was born at Sherwood, Cayuga County, November 20, 1827, the daughter of Slocum and Hannah (Tallcot) Howland. Theirs was an old Quaker family which traced its ancestry back through Revolutionary days in New England. She was reared simply and sternly as a Quaker. She was educated in small private schools in the community, and a Young Ladies Boarding School in Philadelphia, Pa.

To aid humanity and to make the world a better place in which to live for all classes of people, was her motto and she never deviated from the course throughout her century and more of life. While devoting a great deal of her time to humanitarian projects, she also found time to manage two Cayuga County farms and serve as director of the Aurora National Bank.

Slavery aroused her indignation and as early as 1845 she was interested in the emancipation of the negro. Three years before the Civil War she taught in a school for negro girls in Washington, and after the Emancipation Proclamation, she taught in a camp for freed slaves at Arlington and was praised for her courageous and tireless work during a smallpox epidemic there. Later she went to Virginia where she was instrumental in establishing three schools for the colored people. As time went on she became interested in a large number already established throughout the South and in several she held a trusteeship. Her counsel was greatly valued. She was also actively interested in certain white schools in the South and West. These interests continued through her life-time.

On her return north from Virginia the suffrage question was coming to the front, and immediately she threw her active support into the movement which finally brought about the adoption of the 19th Amendment. She also devoted herself to the cause of temperance and lived to see Prohibition a law of the nation she

loved. In her later years she enlisted for the cause of world peace and to the end of her long life rendered valuable service by giving out literature and as occasion offered, speaking for it publicly.

The Sherwood Select School, founded by Friends in 1871, was provided by her in 1882 with a commodious and handsome building. After continuing successfully for over thirty years the school was closed for various reasons in 1907. Emily Howland, realizing the great loss to the community, bent her efforts toward its reopening. Two years later she succeeded in accomplishing this. From that time on the school became a great interest in her life. She largely financed it and she took the teachers, young college graduates, into her home. In 1927 she gave it over to the community to become a public school. It was then given the name of the Emily Howland High School and in recognition of her long services for the school and her general interest in education the degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred upon her by the University of the State of New York, the only woman which it had ever so honored. At her death the Board of Regents passed an appreciative resolution referring to her as "a distinguished alumna of the University."

She was the author of "Early Friends in Cayuga County," a valuable paper prepared for the Cayuga County Historical Association and published by them in 1880.

She is survived by several nieces and nephews—Isabel Howland of Sherwood, N. Y.; Herbert Howland of Paris, France; Clarence Howland, Edith Howland and Blanche Howland of Catskill, N. Y.

George Joseph Holland of Elmira, passed away quite suddenly on June 17, 1929, his death being caused by pneumonia.

Mr. Holland was born in Scriba, Oswego County, January 31, 1881, the son of Cornelius and Helen (Kinney) Holland. He received his early education at St. Paul's parochial school, Oswego, N. Y.

For the past 25 years he has been actively associated with the New York Telephone Company, his first position being in the commercial department of the Syracuse offices. Through loyal, faithful and untiring allegiance to his superiors, love and respect for his co-workers, ceaseless and unswerving application to duty, he merited one promotion after another, culminating in his appointment as traffic manager of the Syracuse district. Later he

assumed the traffic management of the Elmira district. Finally in March of 1929 his long and successful career was rewarded by promotion to the office of district traffic superintendent.

Throughout both districts which include many cities and towns, Mr. Holland formed many true frindships, and he was held in high esteem by all who knew him. He was a member of the Elmira Association of Commerce, Century Club, Golf and Country Club.

On April 30, 1912, he was married to Kathleen May Hageman of Syracuse. Besides his wife, he is survived by one son, George Frederick, and a brother Thomas M. Holland of Oswego.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

PERSONALS

To a host of friends it will be gratifying to note that the Bibliographical Society of London awarded its gold medal to Dr. Wilberforce Eames, Bibliographer of the New York Public Library.

Miss Marjorie Perham of Oxford, Eng., who lectures at Oxford University on Colonial History and has specialized on the career of Sir William Johnson, visited Albany early in July and made an examination of Johnson Hall at Johnstown and of Fort Johnson. She has been deeply interested in the publication by the State, of the papers of Sir William Johnson.

Dr. Putman of Binghamton has been for years an indefatigable collector of local history. He has completed in scrap book form 14 volumes on churches; 12 volumes on medical work and hospitals; 2 volumes on clubs; 6 volumes on schools; 5 volumes on fraternal organizations; 14 volumes on business concerns; 7 volumes of manuscripts; and 10 volumes on miscellaneous topics like newspapers, banks, wars, autos, &c.

Local Historian Walter Wolcott of Penn Yan, N. Y., has been active in awakening interest in local history. His outline history map of Yates County is a model of its kind.

Prof. Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., of Hamilton College has been granted leave of absence for the year 1929–1930. He will devote his sabbatical year to research in Canada and Europe. His work will be carried, during his absence, by Prof. Edgar B. Graves.

Miss Abigail Craft, the daughter of Rev. Dr. David Craft, who did so much to recover and print the journals and diaries of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign lives at Angelica, N. Y.

Miss Emily Howland, nationally known humanitarian and educator died at Sherwood, N. Y., June 29, at the age of 101 years. She was born in the town of Venice, Cayuga County, Nov. 20, 1827, of an old Quaker family. She was well-educated, became an opponent of slavery, and was a teacher of note. Her zeal in behalf of woman suffrage was conspicuous. In 1926 she was given an honorary degree by the Regents of the University of the State of New York.

COMMUNICATIONS

Albany, October 5, 1928[1]

To the Editor:—

The paper by Miss Ralph, "The Chassanis or Castorland Settlement," was peculiarly interesting in view of the relation of the later French efforts at colonization in the United States to Crèvecoeur's active propaganda on his return to France after a prolonged residence in the States.

Crèvecoeur was an enthusiastic follower of Rousseau. After a youthful period of soldiering in Canada during the French war, he went to Pennsylvania, and in 1764 became a citizen of New York. While given much to travel, he occupied a farm near Port Jervis until 1779, when the distractions of the War for Independence and his sympathy for the mother country led him to return to Europe.

Landing in England, he disposed of a manuscript of travel sketches to a London publisher. They were written in English and the book is the celebrated "Letters from an American Farmer." Remaining in France from 1781 to 1783, in the latter year he returned to New York City as French consul. The onset of the French revolution drew him back to France again in 1790.

The course of the great upheaval at home must have brought this great enthusiast for humanity varied emotions, but the final reaction under Napoleon caused him keen disappointment and led him to take pen in hand once more to picture by contrast the almost idyllic conditions in the new American states, where life was simple, land ample and living large and free.

These later sketches appeared in French in three volumes, and their glowing colors enticed many companies of adventurers doubtless a strong factor in the land speculations that excited the Old and the New World for over a generation until quiet was restored to the Western World after the decisive struggle of Waterloo.

The following comment on the early life of Frederic Remington may be of interest. He was employed as extra clerk in the State Insurance Department at Albany for a short time during the year 1882 and is recalled by the older men in recent years as an active

[1]This letter written just after the Watertown meeting has been held till the publication of the paper to which it principally relates.

and boisterous youngster who soon tired of the confinement of office work and left to get out of doors. An ordinary bookkeeper's high desk stood in the middle of one of the rooms of the department. It was his way to hop over this desk, rather than take the trouble to pass around. While working on policy sheets, making extensions for the yearly valuation, he frequently made animal sketches in place of figures. He roomed with several men of his own age on the top floor of 162 State Street, which was long used as a boarding and rooming house before displaced by the Albany Elks building. In descending the stairways of the house, Remington was wont to slide his hand along the rail and touch the center and the bottom in two leaps.

CHARLES MAAR

THE ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

As told by an eye witness

Contributed by Victor Hugo Paltsits

The following account, written approximately between 1800 and 1820, is addressed to "My dear Lansing." It was found among the papers of the late General Philip Schuyler, born in 1836, and died in 1906, who married Harriet Langdon in 1872. They were the parents of the mother of the wife of Howard Townsend, of New York City, from whom the record was obtained in December, 1926, accompanied by a letter in which Mr. Townsend, who was the executor of Schuyler's estate, calls attention to an important point affecting current tradition. He wrote: "You will note that there is no mention of the account of the incident now quoted as historical fact, of the Indian throwing a tomahawk at my great grandmother when she went to rescue her little sister lying in its cradle. The tomahawk missed her, and is supposed to have made a dent in the baluster of the stairway, which dent is now shown to the casual visitor. I have always had my doubts as to the occurrence." The alleged incident has also been introduced into modern printed histories, so it is good to call attention to the probability that the story originated as a tradition in later times from some one unable to divine the cause of the dent in the baluster, and whose fertile imagination attributed it in the manner in which it is now held and repeated as a fact. The text of the newly-discovered document follows:

Curious account of an attack on Genl. Schuyler's House at Albany with a view to capture him from the recollection [of] an Eye Witness.

Some time before the Invasion of Burgoyne a plan was laid in Canada to seize and carry off Gen[l]. Schuyler, by means of a party of Refugees and desperadoes, some of whom were acquainted with his residence and mode of life — This Plan came to the knowledge of Genl. Schuyler, who in consequence applied to the Corporation of Albany for a guard to protect his House, which was granted — and he as a further protection against the attempt proposed the firing of a pistol from a particular window to indicate that the attack was made — It must be premised that Gen[l]. Schuyler's House with a farm of 90 Acres stood in what is now almost the centre of Albany — The House was surrounded by a high fence — The Arms of the Guard at the suggestion of M[rs]. Schuyler, who was fearful of danger to her children, had been placed in a vault which opened near the kitchen Entry — The Guard itself on the Evening of the attempt were loitering about the Door — The General with his family was at supper In the Hall with the Door most fortunately locked; when a person* knocked at the Gate and demanded admittance, a black Woman sitting near it asked him his name; without making a reply the Ruffian forced the gate with his comrades from 30 to 40 in number, part of whom attacked the Guard, the rest rushed at the Door. The Guard immediately sought their arms in the cellar and having seized them commenced a fight with the intruders in the Entries and lower parts of the House — At the first alarm, Gen[l]. Schuyler suspecting the Intention of the Ruffianly Crew, proceeded to his Bed Room and made the proposed signal of firing the Pistol — He was immediately followed by his family, who rendered any further personal efforts impracticable by clinging round him, his daughters some hanging on his arms and others embracing his Knees in the most distressing terror and uncertainty, at this moment one of his daughters more collected than the rest remembered, that in the flight of the family from the Hall, a child had been left in its Cradle — Hoping to reach it unperceived, she descended by the private stairway, but on crossing the landing to gain the public one, she was met by a Man supposed [to be] the Chief of the Band who crossing his musket before her asked where was Gen[l]. Schuyler. With great promptness she replied "He has gone to Albany." This alarmed the villian who fearing that he would shortly return to the rescue, drew off his party with what plunder he could collect, and two prisoners, leaving two others of the Guard wounded in the Hands of their Comrades — Such was the precipitation with which these wretches fled to the Mohawk that the Boatmen with whom

*"Man" crossed out.

they crossed, declared that they almost fainted with fatigue and were wet to the skin with the violence of their Exertions.

Gen[l]. Schuyler's character was indeed too well known for activity and energy, to allow them for a moment to suppose, that he, having foiled them in their attempt, was not close at their heels, ready to inflict the most signal punishment for their audacity.

The NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS and several of the divisions under NOTES AND COMMENTS are omitted in this number to permit the publication of the remaining papers from the Watertown meeting and the second and final instalment of "New Sources on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779." These departments will appear as usual in the issue for January 1930.

NOTE—List of Members Corrected to October 30, 1929.

MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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Blauvelt, Hon. George A., born November 11, 1866; died October 16, 1924. Represented by Mrs. Cora Blauvelt, 163 Seminary Ave., Rahway, N. J. "President N. Y. State Historical Association, Trustee Cornell University, State Senator, lawyer of unusual ability, and an unselfish citizen who was faithful to every trust."

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Gilbert, Frank Bixby, born March 10, 1866; died August 28, 1927.

Ingalsbe, Hon. Grenville M., L.H.D., born July 26, 1846; died April 21, 1918. Represented by Miss Mary E. Lawler, Hudson Falls. "Successful as lawyer, manufacturer and banker, a litterateur of no small ability, and an able historian."

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Markle, John, 2 Rector St., New York.

Milholland, John Elmer, born May 30, 1860; died June 29, 1925. Represented by Mrs. Jean T. Milholland, The Wyoming, 853 Seventh Ave., New York. "Not only a man of action, but a genius of inspiration. A great humanitarian who loved man and God."

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Severance, Frank H., L.H.D., LL.D., 150 Jewett Parkway, Buffalo.

Thayer, Miss Estella, born Oct. 28, 1869; died June 23, 1922. Represented by Mrs. Elmer Tibbetts, Newburgh. "A rare personality who radiated joy and enthusiasm among all with whom she was associated."

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Williams, Miss Harriet N., represented by Timothy S. Williams, Huntington, L. I.

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Andrews, Mrs. Thomas H. S.	5 Sage Terrace, Scarsdale
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Child, Samuel	117 Keyes Ave., Watertown
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Lange, Gustav, Jr.	17 John St., New York
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Lansing, Mrs. Arthur K.	Cambridge
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Larrowe, Mrs. Katherine Morgan	Cohocton, Steuben Co.
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Lauren, Mrs. B. C.	30 Walnut St., Oneonta
LaWall, John D.	94 North Parkway, Rochester
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Leary, John J., Jr.	The World, 63 Park Row, New York
Le Fevre, Hon. Frank J.	New Paltz
Leffingwell, William M.	Watkins Glen
Lenz, George, M.D.	68 Bleecker St., Gloversville
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Leonard, Edgar Cotrell	Westport, Conn.
Leonard, Walter A., M.D.	Cambridge
Lester, General James W.	Saratoga Springs
Lewis County Historical Society	Lowville
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Lewis, Hon. Gilbert L.	Powers Bldg., Rochester
Lewis, Leon Ray	Hudson Falls
LEWIS, LORAN L., Jr.	Roycroft Inn, East Aurora
Lewisohn, Adolph	61 Broadway, New York
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LIDDLE, HENRY S., M.D.	212 Union St., Schenectady
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Lippincott, Arthur H.	2 East 70th St., New York
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Livingston, Philip	20 East 80th St., New York
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Locke, Franklin T.	Ticonderoga
Lockport Historical Society, Inc.	Box 103, Lockport
Lockwood, Roy	Ticonderoga
Loomis, Mrs. John R.	71 Ridge St., Glens Falls
Long Island Historical Society	Pierpont & Clinton Sts., Brooklyn
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Luckhurst, Mrs. Charlotte T.	154 Western Ave., Albany
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Lux, Mrs. Charles A.	813 Onondaga Circle, Syracuse
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Maar, Mrs. Maria Peterson	538 Morris St., Albany
Macdonald, George Alexander	124 East 92nd St., New York

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Martin, Alexander	Lima, Livingston Co.
Massachusetts State Library	State House, Boston, Mass.
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McAneny, Hon. George	120 East 75th St., New York
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McCormick, Joseph H.	133 Elderwood Ave., Pelham
McCreery, B. F.	151 Ridge St., Glens Falls
McDonald, Donald	993 Park Ave., New York
McDonald, Frank T.	Ticonderoga
McDowell, Rev. P. H., D.D.	30 Maple St., Glens Falls
McGuinness, John J. A.	603 Madison St., Brooklyn
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McLaughlin, Charles G.	11 Hunter St., Glens Falls
McLean, C. M.	3 Chestnut St., Binghamton
McLean, Marshall, A. M.	350 Madison Ave., New York
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McPhillips, Hon. James	Glens Falls
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Marshall, Charles A.	Saratoga Springs
Marshall, Mrs. J. P.	305 W. 87th St., New York
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Mead, Nelson P., Ph.D.	81 Hillside Ave., Hastings-on-Hudson
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Menges, Mrs. Frederick	136 Circular St., Saratoga Springs
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Meredith, Miss Mary A.	526 Ostrom Ave., Syracuse
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Merritt, Jesse	Farmingdale, Nassau Co.
Merwin, Miles H.	Blue Mountain Lake

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MESSER, L. FRANKLIN	201 Linwood Ave., Buffalo
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Meyer, Blakeman Quintard	Rye
Michael, Edward	741 Delaware Ave., Buffalo
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Miller, P. Schuyler, B.S.	302 So. Ten Broeck St., Scotia
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Milton, J. E.	Brewerton
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Mitchell, Byron M.	622 James St., Syracuse
Mitchell, Charles A.	459 Exchange St., Geneva
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Monnette, Orra Eugene	350 So. Oxford Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Montgomery, William Robert	676 Esplanade Ave., Pelham Manor
Montgomery Co. Historical Society	Amsterdam
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Moore, Charles Everett	11 Court St., White Plains
Moore, Jonathan	Ticonderoga
Moore, Mrs. Jonathan	Ticonderoga
Moore, Thomas H.	Ticonderoga
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Morris, Miss Marguerite J.	150 Noble St., Brooklyn
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Moses, Mrs. Frank	Ticonderoga
Moses, Harvey H.	P. O. Box T., Springfield, Mass.
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Munger, H. G.	Herkimer
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Murray, C. B.	Lyon Mountain
Murray, George Welwood	15 Broad St., New York
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Nadeau, Mrs. Albert A.	Fort Ticonderoga
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New Century Club, Gov't and History Dept.	253 Genesee St., Utica
New York University, Washington Sq. Library	100 Washington Sq. East, New York
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Newell, Rev. Wilbur C.	20 Essex St., Amsterdam
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Nichols, Herbert B.	75 White Oak St., New Rochelle
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Nichols, Rev. Robert Hastings, Ph.D	10 Nelson St., Auburn
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Ogden Free Library	Walton
Ohman, Karl A.	Van Schaick Mansion, Cohoes
Olean Public Library	Olean
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O'Neill, Louis F.	467 Broadway, Albany
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Oppenheim, Mrs. Monroe	Fort Edward
Osborne, Mrs. Edwin	Warrensburg
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Paine, Mrs. Silas H.	Silver Bay
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Paris, Mrs. Preston	Hudson Falls
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Parker, Grace Sherwood	456 Westcott St., Syracuse
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Pell, Robert Thompson	16 East 43rd St., New York
Pell, Mrs. Stephen H. P.	16 East 43rd St., New York
Pell, Stephen H. P.	16 E. 43rd St., New York
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Perry, Stuart H.	Canajoharie
Peters, Charles V.	Glens Falls
Peterson, Arthur Everett, Ph.D.	Evander Childs High School, 184th St., New York
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Philip Livingston Chapter, Sons of the Revolution	109 So. Manning Blvd., Albany
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Pitcher, Mrs. Charlotte A.	15 Faxton St., Utica
Pitcher, Dwight Copley	15 Faxton St., Utica
Plattsburg Normal School	Plattsburg
Plattsburg Public Library	Plattsburg
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Plimpton, Mrs. George A.	675 Delaware Ave., Buffalo
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Potter, Mrs. Malcom S.	169 Ridge St., Glens Falls
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Putnam, George Haven, Litt.D.	2 West 45th St., New York
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Rawdon, Miss Clara Louise Hale	33 Columbia St., Mohawk
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Reed, George E.	Carmel
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Reid, Mrs. Wm. B.	W. Embargo St., Rome
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Reynolds, V. Rev. Fidelis	213 Lincoln Road, Brooklyn
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Richards, Mrs. Orson C.	Hudson Falls
Richards, William L.	4½ Goodwin Ave., Glens Falls
Richardson, Frederick B.	18 Guion St., New Rochelle
Richardson, Rev. George L., D.D.	68 South Swan St., Albany
Richardson, Mrs. Mary Robbins	185 Washington St., Saratoga Springs
Richfield Springs Public Library	Richfield Springs
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Rinehart, Alan G.	244 Madison Ave., New York
Rising, Henry	Ticonderoga
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Robbins, E. B.	9 Harrison Ave., Glens Falls
Robbins, V. Rev. Howard Chandler, D.D.	Sneden's Landing, Palisades, Rockland Co.
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Robinson, Albert G.	Glens Falls
Robinson, Mrs. Douglas	Mohawk
Robinson, Kenneth Balch	204 Garfield Ave., Endicott
Robinson, Theodore Douglas	Mohawk
Robinson, Mrs. Theodore Douglas	Mohawk
Robison, Hanford	322 State St., Schenectady
Roche, Mrs. Spencer Summerfield	29 Hilton Ave., Garden City, L. I.
Rochester Colony, Nat. Society New England Women	1953 Lewiston Ave., Rochester
Rochester Historical Society	Exposition Park, Rochester
Rochester Public Library, Central Library	54 Court St., Rochester
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Rogers, Theodore L.	550 Gansevoort St., Little Falls
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Rowe, Franklin A.	Glens Falls
Rowe, Louis Cass	55 West 6th St., Oswego
Rowse, Edward F.	8846 Ft. Hamilton Pkwy, Brooklyn
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Runkle, Mrs. Delmer	96 Classic St., Hoosick Falls
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Russell, Howard	Ticonderoga
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Sargeant, Dr. M. E.	Ticonderoga
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Sawyer, John E.	Hudson Falls
Sawyer, Hon. Samuel Nelson	Palmyra
Sawyer, Willoughby L.	Hudson Falls
Saxton, Andrew B.	11 Third St., Oneonta
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Scott, Walter	495 Broadway, New York
Scovell, J. Boardman, LL.B.	Lewiston
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Seay, James Miller	66½ Union Ave., Schenectady

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Selleck, Miss Isabel	6 Harrison Ave., South Glens Falls
Seigle, Mrs. R. P.	Cazenovia
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Seneca Falls Historical Society	Seneca Falls
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Severance, Mrs. Wales F.	Mexico
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Seymour, Mrs. Lewis	25 North St., Binghamton
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Sherman, Miss Mary B.	428 Elizabeth St., Ogdensburg
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Simpkins, Wayne, B.	Ticonderoga
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Skilton, Frank Avery	84 Hamilton Ave., Auburn
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Slingerland, Mrs. George O.	Mechanicville
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SMILEY DANIEL	Mohonk Lake
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Smith, Mrs. Abram D.	Newark, Wayne Co.
SMITH, ARTHUR TAPPAN	Herkimer
Smith, A. Page	75 State St., Albany
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Smith, Hon. Edward N.	Supreme Court Chambers, Watertown
Smith, Edward P.	Education Building, Albany
Smith, Mrs. Frank E.	4806 James St., R. D., E. Syracuse
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SMITH, GEORGE N.	Cooperstown
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Smith, Jacob G.	602 Crossett St., Syracuse
SMITH, LEE H., M.D.	224 Elmwood Ave., Buffalo

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Smith, Nathan	Ticonderoga
Smith, Theodore Eugene	Box 987, Kingston
Snider, William T.	52 Water St., Newburgh
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Snow, Mrs. Helmer	36 Ingersoll St., Albion
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Snyder, Mrs. Minnie F.	270 Prospect St., Newark
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Southard, Mrs. J. Bennett	Cold Spring
Sowdon, Miss Alice W.	14 Highland Ave., Yonkers
Spalding, Chas. A.	Saugerties
Spearing, Elmer M.	Bel Air, Md.
Spencer, Charles Worthen, Ph.D.	Hamilton
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Sprague, Henry W.	65 Oakland Pl., Buffalo
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Springsted, Rev. Johnson A.	24 Notre Dame St., Glens Falls
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Stafford, E. L., M.D.	Chestertown
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STAPLES, GEORGE K.	Brockport
Starbuck, Miss Kathryn H.	94 Lake Ave., Saratoga Springs
State College for Teachers	Albany
Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences	Staten Island
Statham, Henry G.	Education Building, Albany
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Stevens, Fred N.	Hoosick Falls
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